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I Speak Better Arabic: Arabic Native Speakers' Perception Of Arabic Dialects

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I SPEAK BETTER ARABIC:

ARABIC NATIVE SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION OF ARABIC DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

A limited number of studies in the field of perceptual dialectology covered the Arab World. This is a perceptual dialectology study that aims at investigating Arabic native speakers' perception of Arabic dialect areas. This study utilized a questionnaire that is based on Preston's (1999) techniques for investigating perceptual dialectology. This questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part includes a detailed map of the Arab world and participants are asked to identify as many dialect areas of Arabic as they could. The second part of the questionnaire investigates Arabic native speakers' perception of different Arabic dialects in terms of where they are spoken, how different they are from the dialect they speak, how correct, how pleasant and how close to, or distant from, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) they believe they are. Results of this study give us an idea about Arabic native speakers' perception of different dialect areas of Arabic. However, this study had some limitations that might have affected the results. Future research is highly encouraged to address these limitations which would contribute to a clearer picture of Arabic native speakers' perception of Arabic dialects.

Keywords:

Arabic Dialects, Perceptual Dialectology, Language Attitudes, Folklinguistics, Dialect Mapping, Dialect Identification.

DEDICATION

All thanks and praise is due to Allah, we seek His help and forgiveness. This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends who were a constant source of inspiration, and everyone who helped me and guided me through my times of stress and anxiety. In particular, I would like to thank my mother, father, siblings, who always believed in and supported what I am doing, and my friend, Asmaa Taha, who was a constant source of inspiration, always showed support and provided wise advice. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my wife, Basma El-Rayes, for the passion, love and patience with which she supported me for many sleepless days until this work was completed, and to the newest and dearest addition to the family, my son, Maher.

Mahmoud Abdel-Rahman
Oxford, MS, USA
4/20/2016

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بِسْمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ

”وَمِنْ ءَايَٰتِهِۦ خَلْقُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ وَٱخْتِلَٰفُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَأَلْوَٰنِكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ فِى ذَٰلِكَ لَءَايَٰتٍ لِّلْعَٰلِمِينَ“

سورة الروم ، الآية ٢٢

Bismi Allahi Ar-Rahmani Ar-Raheem

“Wa min āyātihi khalqu as-samawati wal ardi wa ikhtilafu alsinatikum wa alwanikum inna fee thalika la’ayatin lil’aālimeen”

Surat Ar-rūm, Al-ayah 22.

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful and the Most Gracious

“And among His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the difference of your languages and colours. Verily, in that are indeed signs for people of sound knowledge”

The Holy Quran, 30:22

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Arabic, which belongs to the Semitic languages family, is the official language of twenty two countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Yemen. It is also the language of Arab citizens residing in Israel. In addition, Arabic is one of the United Nations official languages, along with English, French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese (Holes, 2004). Map 1 shows the geography of the Arab World.

Map 1. The Arab World

Some countries (e.g. Iran, turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia and some African states) use Arabic for religious and liturgical purposes after being exposed to the Arabic conquest. Although

some people in these countries can read and write in Arabic, they do not use it in their daily conversations or understand it outside religious contexts. With that intense contact with Arabic, other languages (i.e. Persian, Swahili, Turkish, Indonesian, and Hausa) exhibit extensive lexical borrowing from Arabic (Crewe, 1973).

Arabic is a 'diglossic' language that has two resisters; standard Arabic which is based on the Qur'an and pre-Islamic poems (Crewe, 1973), and regional dialects that vary from a country or a dialect region to another, or even within the same country. There are lexical, phonological and grammatical differences between these two registers which make "the distance between the written standard and everyday speech is very large" (Versteegh, 1997, p. 115). Unlike the standard form of the language which is usually revered by speakers, regional dialects are usually perceived to be a lower and defective form of the language to be suitable for use in formal contexts. However, speakers continue to pass this "low" variety of the language to their younger generations, which limits the opportunities for the standard form to be used in informal situations, keeping the same distance between the two varieties if not widening it (Sayahi, 2014).

This diglossic situation could be represented by a vertical continuum that has the high variety of the language (Standard Arabic) on the top of the continuum, while having the lower variety of the language (regional dialects) at the bottom of it. These regional dialects differ from a country (or a group of countries, known as a dialect region) to another; which could be represented by a horizontal continuum that extends from Morocco and Mauritania in the west to the Gulf countries and Oman in the east. Chart 1 explains the complex linguistic situation of Arabic; showing eastern and western dialects, along with the high and low varieties.

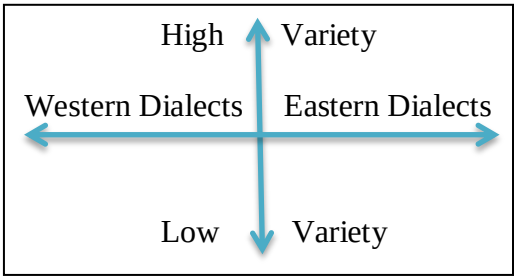

Chart 1. The linguistic situation of Arabic

While standard Arabic is used in the written forms of the languages (newspapers, articles, books, etc.) and formal verbal situations (religious preaches, news broadcasting, political interviews, etc.), dialectal variations are used in day-to-day interactions among native speakers. For example, when an average Arab child attends school, s/he will read the standard form of Arabic in his/her textbook while discussing it in his/her in the classroom with the teacher and his/her classmates using the regional dialect of Arabic they all speak. Neighboring countries and dialect regions usually understand each other. However, the further apart these countries or dialect regions get, the less comprehensible their dialects become to each other (Holes, 2004). For example, an average Kuwaiti would find less difficulty conversing with a Jordanian than conversing with an Algerian. However, with all modern technology (i.e. TV, internet and travel), people are exposed to dialects of further areas more often than they did in the past.

Although people consider standard Arabic to be the higher or the more prestigious variety, there are prestigious "low" varieties as well. They are being perceived as prestigious because of social factors (e.g. the dialect of a socially powerful class like the royal families in the Gulf countries), economic factors (e.g. the dialect of a more economically powerful city like Cairo, over other cities in Egypt), or even for seeking prestige in speaking a Bedouin dialect, and not a sedentary one (e.g. Jordanian women from Bedouin or rural backgrounds) (Abdel-Jawad, 1986; and Bassiouney, 2009). In addition, sometimes speakers from rural areas switch to the dialect of the capital, even when their own dialect is closer to standard Arabic. For example, the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, used the Baghdad Muslim dialect which is known for using /g/ for /q/, rather than his local dialect, which uses the classical /q/ (Versteegh, 1997).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND PREVIOUS STUDIES IN THE FIELD

The systematic study of dialects has started about a century and a half ago. Dialects are sometimes not written and often looked at as a corrupted form of the language. In their book *American English: Dialects and Variation*, Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes (2006) define dialect as "any variety of a language that is shared by a group of speakers within a language." They also argue that every speaker speaks at least one dialect. Anis (1952) states that dialects are parts of bigger environments known as "language". Some features might be shared between different dialects. Communication and comprehension among the speakers of these dialects depend on how much these dialects share in common. However, familiarity with different dialects does not guarantee that speakers of these dialects can define the geographical boundaries of the dialects they know of or speak (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003).

The study of dialect geography started in the 19th century by Western European linguists. In the case of Arabic language, the main sources of linguistic variation are the books and writings by travelers, geographers and historians. They described phonological and lexical variations between different areas they visited. For example, in his book "*ʔaḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʕrifat al-ʔaqālīm*" "*Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions",* Al-Muqaddasi (946 AD) discusses the linguistic differences of all the provinces he visited in the Islamic empire, and supplies a list of lexical and phonetic regionalisms for them. The criterion on which Arabic dialects were divided is not always clear and it can at times be arbitrary. They were classified

using the chronological history of settlement. In North Africa, for instance, different groups of Arabs settled in different areas. Although these groups came from different origins, their different dialects came into contact resulting in dialects that have shared features. Other methods of classifying dialects are based on geographical factors (e.g. the Arabian Peninsula) or are along sociolinguistic lines (e.g. higher and lower registers of the language) (Versteegh, 1997).

Dialect maps are used in traditional dialectology to study the geographical distribution of dialects. Imaginary lines on maps, known as isoglosses, were used to define the boundaries between different dialect regions. The term "isogloss" was first used by the Latvian dialectologist J. G. A. Bielenstein in 1892. Isogloss is Greek for 'equal language' (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998). Although dialectologists used isoglosses, they are not effective enough in defining different dialect areas because it is not clear on which basis (i.e. phonetic features vs. lexical distribution) these dialect areas were divided. Besides, the transition from one dialect area to another is gradual, with transitional zones in between (Versteegh, 1997).

In other cases, false isoglosses existed because dialect areas were surveyed by different fieldworkers who "differ in the norms of their phonetic transcription of the words in question". These are known as 'fieldworker isoglosses' (e.g. Trudgill 1983, p. 39). Kretzschmar (2009) argues that some scholars' mapping of dialect areas is based on perceptual and not on production data. Moreover, some authors expect the subjects to agree on their division of the dialect areas, and their answers were considered "correct" only if it matches the authors' division. For example, Weijnen (1946) rendered the results of the study in Japan as "irrelevant" because the perceptual boundaries that the subjects drew on the map did not match the previously defined production isoglosses.

Inoue (1999a), who investigated the effectiveness of hand-drawn maps in the UK, urges caution in getting conclusions from layperson's perception maps due to their lack of knowledge of the dialects of a language and because they often form dialect images even without listening to the actual dialect. Moreover, misidentification of dialect areas could occur even when other methodologies are followed. Kerswill and Williams (2002), for instance, concluded that dialect leveling could affect the recognition of dialects negatively.

Dialectologists usually investigated people's imaginary boundaries between dialect areas based on grammar and vocabulary. Yet, some authors investigated non-linguists perception of dialect areas based on pitch and accent (e.g. Nomoto, 1963). Great data were produced in dialect geography based on pronunciation such as: A Structural Atlas of the English Dialects (Anderson, 1987), the Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE; Kurath et al. 1939-43), Kurath and Lowman (1970), Kurath and McDavid (1961), the Survey of English Dialects (SED; Orton, Sanderson, & Widdowson, 1962-71), the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS; Pederson et al. 1986-92), and the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM; Allen, 1976).

Although many dialect atlases were produced in the west, not too many atlases were produced to cover the Arab World. There are still areas that are not covered on the dialectological map (e.g. the Arabian Peninsula). Bergsträßer (1915) made the oldest atlas of the Syro-Lebanese area, while Cantineau (1940, 1946) covered the area around Horan and Palmyra. In addition, the geographical distribution of the Egyptian dialects of Sharqiyya was studied by Abul Fadl (1961), and a complete atlas of all Egyptian dialects (except Cairene) was produced by Behnstedt and Woidich (1985, 1987, 1988, 1994). Behnstedt also produced an atlas of the North Yemenite dialects (1985, 1992).

2.1. FOLK LINGUISTICS

Although there has been interest in what non-specialists believe about language and boundaries of dialect areas, some linguists like Bloomfield (1944) viewed people's beliefs as invalid 'secondary responses' and results should only come through the systematic study of language in order to understand how and why language functions. On the contrary, Hoenigswald (1966) called for the systematic study of folk linguistics. By 'folk' he refers to non-linguists and language users who have no formal linguistic training. Hoenigswald's call was supported by Preston's (1993) claims that people are better in recognizing dialect areas, and they sometime recognize dialect boundaries that linguists themselves and their surveys have not yet discovered (Maguire & McMahon, 2011).

2.2. PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY

While it was not easy to determine where the field of perceptual dialectology fits into the wider field of language investigation, Dennis Preston (1999a, p. xxiv) describes perceptual dialectology as "a sub-branch of folk linguistics" which focuses on non-linguists' beliefs and perceptions about dialect areas. He illustrates that perceptual dialectology "provides the answer to the age-old question of where one language stops and another starts" (Long & Preston, 2002, p. xxi). Precisely, Preston has led the recent movement for American perceptual dialectology and his methodology has been adopted by most authors in the field.

In addition to Preston's description of perceptual dialectology, Montgomery and Beal (2011) define perceptual dialectology as "a speaker-focused discipline that investigates what language users themselves think and believe about language, and explores where people believe dialect areas exist". Language attitudes can be measured directly with interviews and/or

questionnaires that investigate specific aspects of the language, using the direct approach in which the informants themselves report their attitude towards different dialects (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003).

While dialectologists suggest that language varies from a place to another, sociolinguists suggest that language can also vary from a person to another even within the same place. Both dialectologists and sociolinguists investigate how this variation in language might correlate with other social factors. In Trudgill's (1974) study, for instance, the use of [ng] in Norwich increased among working-class and middle-class groups as the formality of the speech situation increased from casual style to word-list style, which proves that there is a relationship between the linguistic variation of [ng] and the social class (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998). Although people can differentiate between two dialect areas based on vocabulary and accent patterns, they do not usually succeed in doing so based on vowels devoicing. For example, native speakers of Japanese are not aware that some Japanese vowels are not heard by foreigners (Han, 1962).

The first study to investigate perceptual dialect areas was in the Netherlands. It used a Dutch dialect survey developed in 1939, which become known as "Questionnaire #8". Then the 'little arrow method', or Pijltjesmethode in Dutch, was devised by Weijnen (1946). It is basically using a set of arrows on a map to mark imaginary boundaries between dialect areas in the Netherlands. Then Kremer (1999) investigated the Netherlands–Germany border as a perceptual dialect boundary. Other studies were conducted in Germany (Dailey-O'Cain, 1999) and Korea (Long & Yim, 2002) following the Netherlands model. However, Japanese studies (Tojo, 1927; Sibata, 1959) could not implement the arrow method. Instead, informants were asked about grades of difference along a continuum from 'not different' to 'incomprehensible', or drawing boundaries between dialect areas (Mase, 1964).

Many studies investigated the non-linguists' views of areal linguistics such as Preston's (1989) studies on Hawaiian perceptions of United States dialect distribution, Southern Indiana residents' perception of correct and pleasant English, Brazilians' perception of language variety in Brazil, Alfaraz' (1997) study on Miami Cubans' Perceptions of Varieties of Spanish, Montgomery's (2006) study on perception of dialect areas in northern England, and Garrett, Coupland and Williams' (2003) study on Welsh English perception by Welsh people living inside Wales and English perception by Welsh people living outside Wales. Although perceptual dialectology was not recognized as an area of research in countries such as the United Kingdom in the past, there are several studies that have examined perceptual dialect boundaries in the UK such as those conducted by Inoue (1999a, 1999b) and Montgomery (2006).

2.3. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES

The early 1960s witnessed the beginnings of research into language attitudes, the conscious and unconscious "attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language" (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992, p. 199). Fasold (1984) states that 'direct' methods ask informants their views on a language/variety, while 'indirect' methods do not let informants know their attitudes are being investigated.

The 'matched-guise' technique is very effective in investigating language attitudes. It stemmed from the study conducted by Lambert et al. (1960) to investigate listeners' evaluational reactions to English and French. The experiment had ten voice samples for listeners to evaluate, eight of which were matched with speakers who are competent in using both languages. The matched-guise technique has opened up a new alley of research; yet, one should consider the following linguists' opinions before using it. Labov (1972) claimed that no speaker can master more than one dialect. In addition, Preston (1999b) has also claimed that this technique is

artificial and does not tell us whether the informants knew where the voice samples came from. Thus, Preston's research in the field implements techniques inspired by perceptual geography approaches and traditional perceptual work (Maguire & McMahon, 2011).

2.4. PRESTON'S METHODOLOGY

Preston (1999b) adapted the techniques used in perceptual and cultural geography to be used in the field of perceptual dialectology. So he used a modified version of the techniques used by Ladd (1970) and Orleans (1973). He asked his informants to construct a hand-drawn map of where they believed dialect boundaries exist in order to be able to create 'perceptual isoglosses'. Instead of comparing these perceptual isoglosses to production boundaries, like the early perceptual dialectological work carried out in the Netherlands and Japan, he computerized these results and introduced methodological components that are modified from cultural geography used by Gould and White (1986) such as rank ordering (Maguire & McMahon, 2011).

Preston (1999b) work tries to fill the gap language attitude research has by providing the informants with the category name and mapped outline of the region rather than voice samples. Although this makes the rated regions 'cognitively real' to informants, we cannot guarantee that all informants know what the dialect of a specific region sounds like in order for them to give a judgment on it. Consequently, he refined his methodology over many studies carried out between 1981 and the present day. For example, he added the 'dialect identification' task which allows the researcher to ask informants about 'how' they perceive variation, and not simply whether they do, which addresses the shortcoming of language attitude studies mentioned above (Maguire & McMahon, 2011). This study is based on Preston's (1999a, p. xxxiv) approach in the study of perceptual dialectology, which he mentioned in the introductory chapter of the first volume of the Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology.

Preston's approach included asking the respondents to draw boundaries between different dialect areas on a blank (or minimally detailed) map, a task first developed by Preston and Howe (1987). For example, Preston (1982) asked students at the University of Hawaii to draw maps of the areas of the United States where they believed people speak differently. He also asked them to label the areas they outlined with the name of the variety of English spoken there or with the label they usually assigned the speakers who lived there. Preston's approach also investigated respondent's perception of degree of difference of a specific dialect from the dialect they speak. For example, in his Hawaii study (1982), respondents rated the core of the South (e.g. Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama) as the most different. In addition, he asked the informants how 'correct' and 'pleasant' they find a specific dialect to be and the same study found out that mid-western and inland northern dialect areas were assigned positive labels such as 'standard,' 'regular,' 'normal,' and 'every-day', versus the South which was not assigned any positive labels at all. He also investigated the respondents' ability to match previously recorded voices, which they listened to, to dialect areas and then he compared how accurately their responses match the boundaries already defined. Preston usually followed these four quantitative questions with observation of the participants or open-ended conversations with them regarding the tasks they have completed and their views of specific dialect areas (Preston, 1999a, p. xxxiv).

2.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

If we compare the situation of Arabic dialects to that of English or other European languages, little attention has been given to the study of Arabic dialects. Versteegh (1997), for instance, classifies the Arabic dialects into the following groups:

1. Arabian Peninsula Dialects: KSA, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Emirates, Oman, and Yemen.

2. Mesopotamian dialects: Iraq and parts of Kuwait and Syria.

3. Levantine dialects: Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan.

4. Egyptian dialects: Egypt, Sudan, and parts of Eastern Libya and Gaza.

5. Maghreb dialects: Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania.

Owens (2000) and Bassiouney (2009) have studied the Arab world and classified it into dialect areas. The results of these dialectological studies that focus on production show that participants viewed Arabic dialects as constituting five major dialect groups: the Maghreb, Egypt and Sudan, the Levant, the Gulf, and Somalia. However, it is not always clear on what criteria these classifications are based. In some cases, purely geographical factors may have influenced the classification (e.g. the Arabian Peninsula).

Among the few studies that focused on the perception of Arabic dialects in different regions in the Arab world is that conducted by Theodoropoulou and Tyler (2014). Using a perceptual dialectology map task, 40 female undergraduate students at Qatar University drew boundaries on a map of the Arab world around areas where they believe people speak differently, and they provided labels for those boundaries. One of the shortcomings of this study is that participants are limited to females only, in one country, Qatar. It is important to widen the circle of the participants and make sure they are diverse enough to reflect the diversity of the Arab world. That is, there is a need for a comprehensive study that includes participants from different countries all over the Arab world and that includes both males and females, particularly that Demirci (2002) has found a gender effect in perceptual dialectology in Turkey. Because gender is so socially marked in the Arab world and in Qatar specifically, we don't want to assume men and women view linguistic variation the same way. In addition, Arabic dialectologists have often focused on urban centers in main Arab countries. In this overall situation, we still lack of in-depth linguistic information on what people think of dialect areas other than their own. This

study tries to partially fill this gap in research by shedding the light on, as well as providing us with, description of Arabic native speakers' perception of different Arabic dialects throughout the Arab World.

2.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study mainly investigates and tries to provide answers to:

1. How do native speakers of Arabic define the imaginary borders of spoken dialects of Arabic?
2. Which dialect do native speakers of Arabic believe to be the closest to MSA?
3. Where do they believe the speaker(s) of the dialect they listened to is from?
4. How "different" from the dialect they speak do they perceive other Arabic dialects?
5. How "correct" do they perceive other Arabic dialects?
6. How "pleasant" do they perceive other Arabic dialects?
7. How "close to, or distant from" Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) / Classical Arabic (CA) do they believe other Arabic dialects are?

CHAPTER THREE

ARABIC NATIVE SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION OF ARABIC DIALECTS

3.1. Structure of the Study

As mentioned in the previous chapter, language attitudes can be measured directly with interviews and/or questionnaires, which facilitate research into more languages, language varieties and linguistic features. A well-known example is Labov's (1966) study in which he investigated New York City respondents' pronunciations of the /r/. The research design for this study is a questionnaire I developed that investigates how the subjects perceive different dialect areas of Arabic. This questionnaire is based on Preston's (1999, p. xxxiv–xxxv) principal techniques that he developed for investigating perceptual dialectology in the 1980s. The questionnaire is made up of two main sections:

I. Dialect Area Identification:

This part showed a detailed map of the Arab world. Respondents were asked to draw boundaries around areas where they believe regional speech zones exist. This part also allowed respondents to label these areas or write comments if they wanted to. The map was followed by a question asking the respondents which Arabic dialect they believed to be the closest to Modern Standard Arabic. Respondents were also asked how they were exposed to other dialects of Arabic. Choices included TV and internet, travel, friends, neighbors, colleagues, or other ways.

II. Dialect Identification and Perception:

This part of the questionnaire is a quantitative section in a Likert-Scale format that asks the respondents questions on how they perceive Arabic dialects. They listen to five audio clips of different Arabic dialects in a random order and assign each voice to the dialect area where they think it belongs to. Then, they rank each dialect for the perceived:

- Degree of difference. Respondents ranked the dialect they listened to for how 'different' they think it is from the dialect s/he speaks in their home area. A scale of 1 to 4 was used (where 1 = same, 2 = a little different, 3 = different, and 4 = unintelligibly different).

- Correctness. Respondents ranked the dialect they listened to for how 'correct' they think it is on a scale of 1 to 4 (where 1 = correct, 2 = a little correct, 3 = a little incorrect, and 4 = incorrect).

- Pleasantness. Respondents ranked the dialect they listened to for how 'pleasant' they think it is on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 = pleasant, 2 = a little pleasant, 3 = a little unpleasant, and 4 = unpleasant).

- Closeness to MSA. Respondents ranked the dialect they listened to for how 'close to' or 'distant from' Modern Standard Arabic they think it is, on a Likert-Scale of 1 to 4 (where 1 = close, 2 = somehow close, 3 = somehow distant, and 4 = distant).

The questionnaire also asked respondents for demographics information like name (optional), age, gender, nationality, highest educational degree earned, educational major or professional specialization, and whether or not they have lived in countries other than their home. There was also a question asking respondents if they were interested in participating in a short interview on the topic of Arabic dialects and they were given a space to provide their contact information. Finally, the majority of the participants took the questionnaire online, while some of them took a paper version of the same questionnaire. The questionnaire used in this study can be found in Appendix I.

3.2. Data Collection and Participants

The questionnaire was taken by 716 Arab participants; 314 (43.85%) males and 402 (56.15%) females from different countries in the Arab World. Participants' age ranged between 18 and 75 years old. The biggest number of participants (374, 52.23%) is between 26 and 35 years old, followed by the age group ranging between 18 and 25 years old (217, 30.30%). Chart 2 shows the distribution of participants' age range.

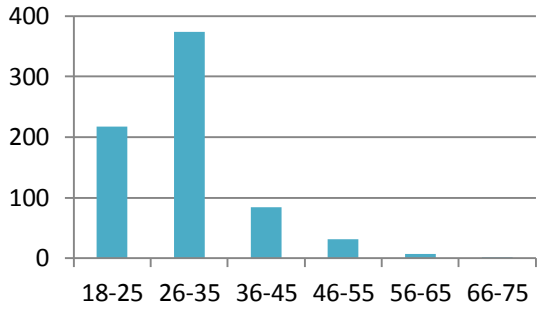

Chart 2. Participants' age range.

Participants are from 20 different nationalities. While most of them currently live in an Arab country, some live in the United States or Europe. There were 8 respondents who identified themselves as "Arab" without giving a specific nationality, as well as 8 dual-citizenship respondents who identified themselves as "American" without giving their Arabic nationality. Besides, four other misleading responses were excluded. The biggest crowd of respondents is Egyptians (417, 58.24%). Table 1 tabulates the distribution of participants' nationalities.

Table 1

Participants' nationalities.

Algerian	13	Iraqi	4	Libyan	3	Saudi	32
American	8	Israeli	26	Moroccan	19	Sudanese	4
Bahraini	5	Jordanian	46	Omani	32	Syrian	12
Egyptian	417	Kuwaiti	4	Palestinian	45	Tunisian	17
Emirati	5	Lebanese	4	Qatari	1	Yemeni	10

Participants' educational level ranged from high school to post-doctoral. Almost half of the participants (49.5%) have a Bachelor's degree. Chart 3 shows the distribution of participants' educational level. Participants come from various educational and professional backgrounds, and

more than half of them (56.3%) lived in another country other than their home. Besides, they have been quite well exposed to Arabic dialects other than their own. Chart 4 shows the participants' exposure to other Arabic dialects.

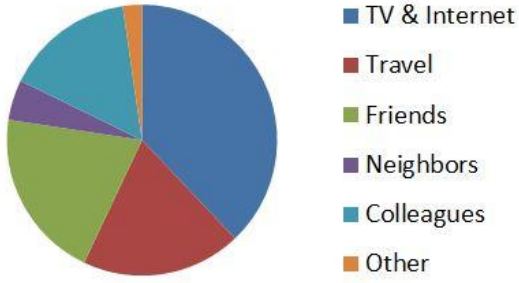

Chart 3. Participants' educational level.

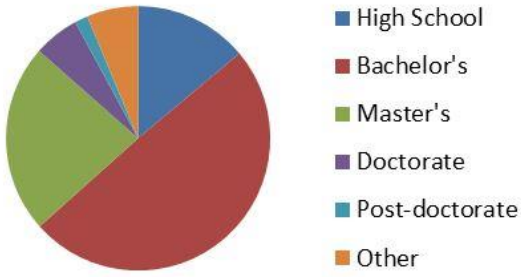

Chart 4. Participants' exposure to other Arabic dialects.

3.3. Data Analysis

After collecting the responses to the questionnaire, I analyzed participants' responses to have a better understanding on Arabic native speakers' perception of their own dialects, as well as other Arabic dialects. The analysis has two sections; the first one will analyze the imaginary borders the participants drew on the map of the Arab World. This analysis will give us an idea about where native speakers of Arabic believe the dialect areas of Arabic exist. Using the imaginary dialect borders that the participants produce, I will try to find out what the five most recognizable dialects areas of Arabic are. The second section of the analysis will be mainly a quantitative one. It will focus on how the participants perceive other dialects of Arabic in terms of how 'different' they are from the dialect they speak, how 'correct' they are, how 'pleasant' they are, and how 'close to' or 'distant from' Modern Standard Arabic they are.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAPPING AND IDENTIFICATION OF DIALECT AREAS

Many studies confirm that when people are asked about their perception of dialect areas, their responses reflects not only their knowledge of geography, but also many other aspects of themselves and their lives which, in turn, may cause their responses to vary considerably. For example, when Orleans (1967 & 1973) asked non-experts to draw maps of in Los Angeles, he found that their knowledge of the area differed from one participant to another. Area maps provided by white upper-class informants were more detailed than those provided by Spanish-speaking informants. Another example is Gould and White's (1986) study in which they asked three participants to draw a map of the same neighborhood they live in. The result was three very different maps of the same area. In addition, although participants in Preston's Draw-A-Map task (1997) produced an idea of the South, they had different opinions regarding which states are considered southern. That is, participants from Chicago included Tennessee and Virginia and cut off South Florida, while participants from the Carolinas did not include any of these. Moreover, Susan Tamasi (2000) replicated Preston's Draw-A-Map method with some Georgia respondents, who also could not agree on defining the dialect area of the South. Some respondents classified some Southern states together, while others labeled some individual states as Southern. Preston's and Tamasi's findings support Gould's and White's (1986) claim that individuals may have very different visualizations of the same area, and that their geographical views are likely to be related to their social views (Kretzschmar, 2009).

Similarly, when asking native speakers of Arabic to identify different areas of Arabic dialects, each individual is going to have a unique mind map of the Arabic dialect areas. This will be influenced by their individual schemas of Arabic dialects they have been exposed to. The space of the dialect areas they identify on a map may or may not correspond to the popularity of this dialect, regardless of the actual space of the dialect area geographically. For example, they might identify a dialect area or draw a bigger circle around it only because they are more familiar with this dialect area or because it is a quite more common dialect, regardless of how big geographically this dialect area actually is. Although the size and recognition of different dialect areas will differ from an individual to another, it is still possible to average their perception, as Gould and White (1986) suggest.

In this chapter, I will present and analyze the data from the first part of the questionnaire. This part showed a detailed map of the Arab World and participants were asked to identify as many dialect areas as they want using that map. Some participants were able to identify more dialect areas than others. The total number of valid responses is 3,598. Some responses were excluded for being invalid (i.e. typing in a word that does not indicate a country, nationality or a dialect). Some responses included non-Arabic speaking countries like Iran and Turkey. These countries might speak Arabic as a second language for religious purposes, though. Some respondents included countries that have Arabic as their official language despite the fact that they are not members of the Arab League (e.g. Chad and Eritrea).

Valid responses were categorized into 348 different dialect areas/groups. The top 25 dialect area groupings occurred between 31 and 425 times (0.89% to 12.16%). In addition, 145 (41.67%) of these groups occurred less than one percent (between 0.06% and 0.97%) ranging in occurrences between 2 and 34 times; and 181 (52.01%) of them occurred only once (0.03%).

Table 2 is lists the 25 dialect areas most frequently recognized by the participants. These 25 dialect areas are represented by an asymptotic hyperbolic curve (A-curve distribution) in Chart 5. See Appendix II for a full list of dialect areas/groups recognized by participants in the first part of the questionnaire.

Table 2
The 25 dialect areas most frequently recognized by the participants.

#	Dialect Areas	Occurrences	Percentage
1	Egypt	425	12.16%
2	Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia	260	7.44%
3	Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	246	7.04%
4	Lebanon, Syria	122	3.49%
5	Sudan	111	3.18%
6	Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia	96	2.75%
7	Jordan, Palestine	89	2.55%
8	KSA	78	2.23%
9	Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	77	2.20%
10	Egypt, Sudan	72	2.06%
11	Iraq	63	1.80%
12	Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan	61	1.75%
13	Algeria, Morocco	54	1.55%
14	Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	50	1.43%
15	Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia	49	1.40%
16	Libya	43	1.23%
17	Iraq, Kuwait	42	1.20%
18	Oman, Yemen	41	1.17%
19	Morocco	40	1.14%
20	Lebanon	39	1.12%
21	Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	38	1.09%
22	Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	38	1.09%
23	Jordan, Lebanon, Syria	34	0.97%
24	Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia	31	0.89%
25	Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	31	0.89%

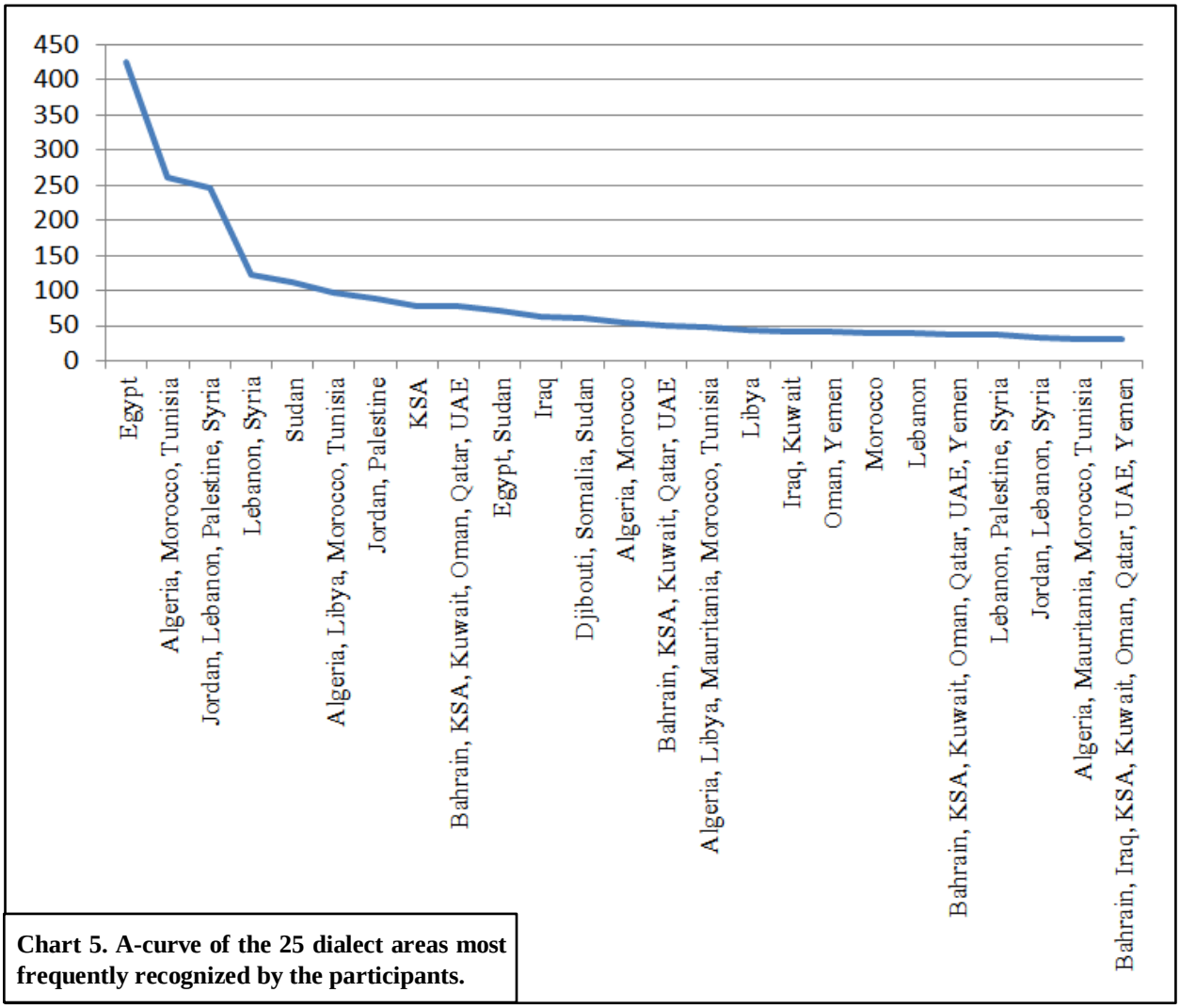

Chart 5. A-curve of the 25 dialect areas most frequently recognized by the participants.

According to the A-curve distribution in Chart 5 that shows the 25 dialect areas in the Arab world most recognized by respondents who took the questionnaire, Egypt was almost always (12.16%) classified as a dialect area on its own. This could be due to the popularity of Egyptian dialect due to its huge use in media, the big number of Egyptian participants who took this survey, or both. The Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) were the second most recognized dialect area, followed by the Levant countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria). As I will discuss in depth later in this chapter, some of the countries or dialect areas featured in the A-curve in chart 5 recur after one or more country or dialect area is added to it.

For example, Libya is sometimes added to the Maghreb countries and sometimes recognized as a separate dialect area. Similarly, some of these countries or dialect areas recur after one or more country or dialect area is removed from it. For example, the Levant countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria) were recognized as a dialect area once, and reappeared again as a dialect area without Jordan once, and without Palestine in another instance.

There are different approaches to classifying dialects. One can use a synchronic approach classification, which is made by measuring and selecting salient linguistic variables for each dialect or group of dialects. On the other hand, one can also use a sociological, anthropological and historical approach which takes into consideration the division between Bedouin and sedentary dialects in the Arab world. The division in terms of Bedouin and sedentary reflects the historical settlements in the area as well as the language shift and change that have been taking place. Sedentary dialects could be further divided into rural and urban (Bassiouney, 2009). In this section, based on respondents' categorization and area labeling of the Arab World map, I will introduce the 5 most commonly recognized dialect areas of Arabic that native speakers of Arabic believe they exist in the Arab world. Map 2 shows circles around these 5 dialect areas.

Map 2. The 5 most commonly recognized dialect areas of Arabic.

1. First Dialect Area:

Chart 6 shows that Egypt was recognized as a separate dialect area (425 responses, 12.16%). Sometimes it was combined with another country like Sudan (72 times, 2.06%) or Libya (16 times, 0.46%). It was rarely combined with a group of countries (i.e. Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, KSA, etc.). In addition, Sudan and Libya were categorized as separate dialects areas (111 times, 3.17%) and (43 times, 1.2%), respectively.

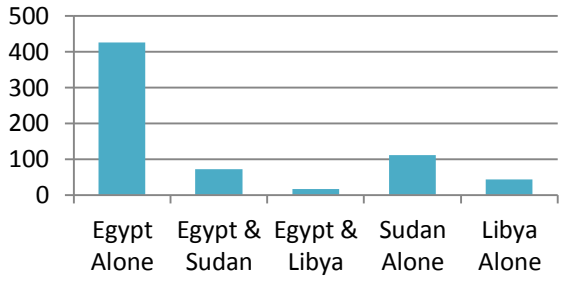

Chart 6. First Dialect Area

2. Second Dialect Area:

The second most recognized dialect area, as Chart 7 shows, consists of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (260 times, 7.44%). Participants sometimes added Libya or Mauritania to this combination with occurrences of 96 times (0.27%) for the former and 31 times (0.88%) for the latter. Some participants added both countries (Libya and Mauritania) to this combination for 49 times (1.4%). In addition, as shown in Chart 8, each of these countries was recognized as an individual dialect area. Algeria occurred 22 times (0.63%), Libya 43 times (1.23%), Mauritania 25 times (0.72%), Morocco 40 times (1.14%) and Tunisia 22 times (0.63%).

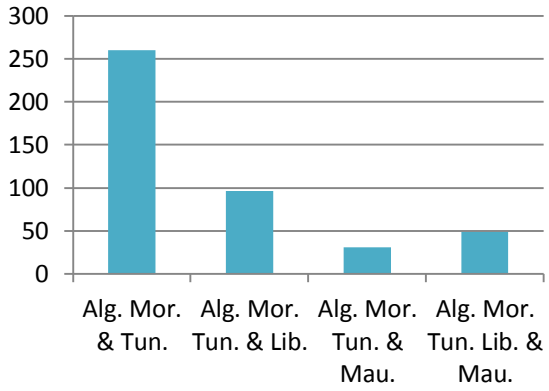

Chart 7. Second Dialect Area

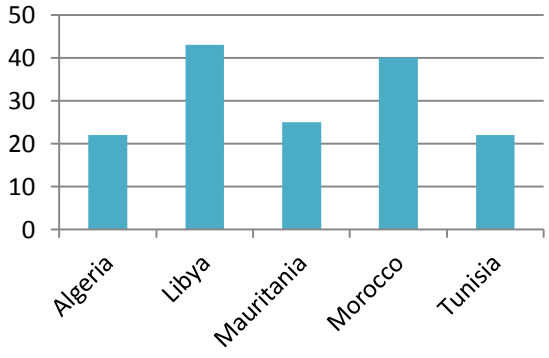

Chart 8. Individual Countries of Second Dialect Area

3. Third Dialect Area:

The third most recognized dialect area consists of 4 countries: Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria (Chart 9). This combination was recognized 246 times (7.04%). Iraq was sometimes added to this combination (27 times, 0.77%). Lebanon and Syria were grouped together 122 times (3.49%). Jordan and Palestine were categorized together 89 times (2.54%). Lebanon was recognized alone to represent this dialect area 39 times (1.11%), while Syria was recognized 27 times (0.77%). Interestingly, Jordan and Lebanon were never put into a separate dialect group.

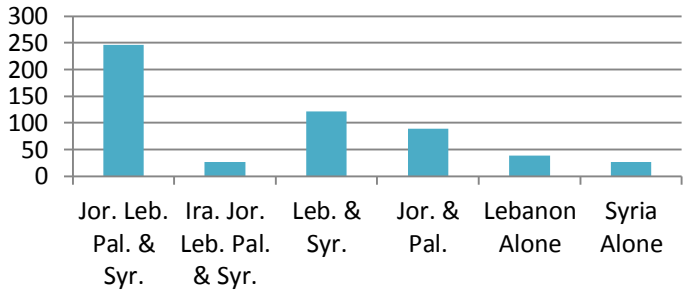

Chart 9. Third Dialect Area

4. Fourth Dialect Area:

Participant's fourth most frequent recognition of a dialect area was for Bahrain, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates (UAE). The combination of these six gulf countries occurred 77 times (2.20%). Other countries have been added to this combination. Iraq, for instance, was added 17 times (0.48%) and Yemen was added 38 times (1.08%), while both of Iraq and Yemen were added to those six countries 31 times (0.88%). Iraq and Kuwait were combined as a separate dialect area 42 times (1.20%). Oman and Yemen were combined together 41 times (1.17%). KSA and Yemen were grouped together 25 times (0.72%). In addition, KSA was recognized as its own dialect area 78 times (2.23%). Indeed, the Arabic peninsula is a very interesting area to study. It generated more than 177 different group categorizations. These groups varied in their constituent countries. Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE were almost always included in these groups. Oman, Yemen, Iraq

and/or Jordan were sometimes added to these combinations. Chart 10 shows the most common occurrences of these combinations. Appendix II includes a full list of all these combinations and the number of their occurrences.

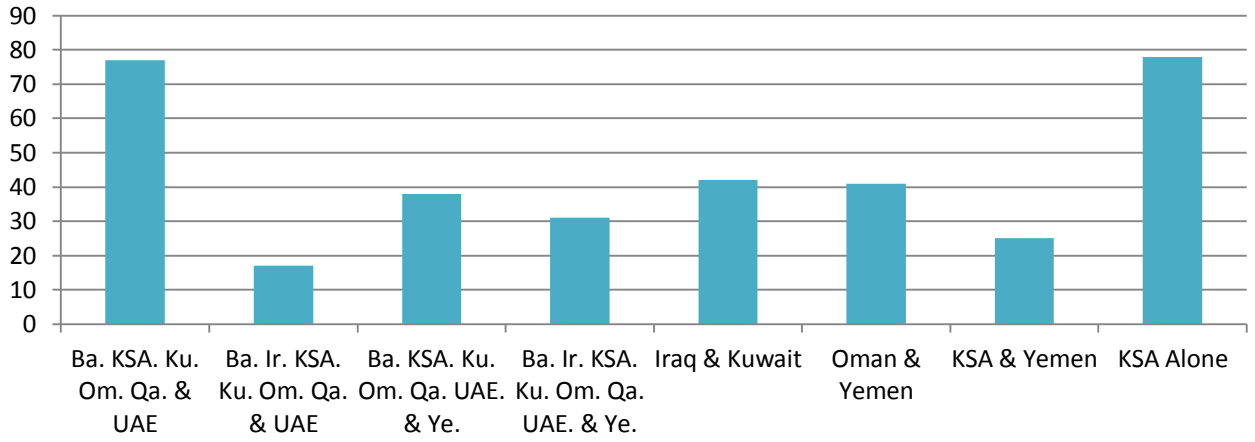

Chart 10. Fourth Dialect Area

5. Fifth Dialect Area:

As shown in Chart 11, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan had the highest number of occurrences of 61 (1.75%) in this dialect area. Djibouti and Sudan were categorized together 16 times (0.46%). Djibouti and Somalia were grouped together as the same dialect area 29 times (0.83%). Somalia and Sudan were combined together 25 times (0.72%). As mentioned in the First Dialect Area, Sudan was put into a separate dialect area 111 times 3.18%). Somalia was categorized alone 18 times (0.52%), while Djibouti was categorized alone only once (0.03%). This dialect area was the least in receiving recognition by the participants. Some participants' answers did not include any of the countries in this group in their dialect areas recognition.

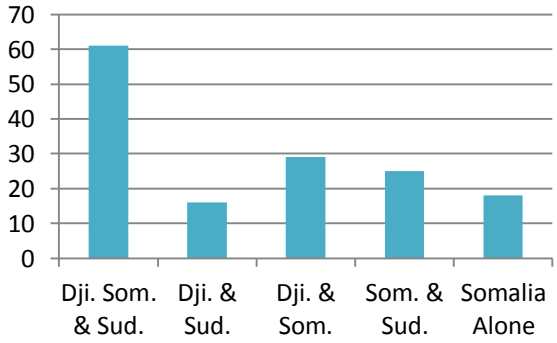

Chart 11. Fifth Dialect Area

After identifying the 5 most frequently recognized dialect Areas in the Arab World based on participants' responses, we can now compare the results of this classification to other scholars' classification of the Arab world into dialect areas. This regional distribution almost matches the results of Owens' (2000) and Bassiouney's (2009) dialectological studies that focus on production where participants viewed Arabic dialects as constituting five major dialect groups: the Maghreb, Egypt and Sudan, the Levant, the Gulf, and Somalia. However, it is not always clear on what criteria this current classification is based. In some cases, purely geographical factors may have influenced the classification (e.g. the Arabian Peninsula).

Likewise, when we compare the dialect areas identified through this study with Versteegh's (1997), we will notice that, on the one hand, they share a lot of similarities and have some discrepancies, on the other. For example, the first dialect area identified through this study corresponds to Versteegh's fourth group, but he adds Gaza to it. Participants in this study have also combined Palestine with Egypt (with or without Libya and/or Sudan) 15 times (0.42%). The second dialect area identified through this study is identical to Versteegh's fifth group. The third dialect area identified through this study corresponds to Versteegh's third group, except that results from this study show that Iraq was often added to them as I mentioned earlier. The fourth dialect area identified through this study matches Versteegh's first group, except that results from this study show that Iraq was often added to them as I mentioned earlier.

There were some discrepancies between Versteegh's (1997) categorization of dialect areas of the Arab World and the one identified here based on the results from this study. First of all, Versteegh makes a new group (the second group) of countries that have already been included in other groups like: Kuwait that is already added to the Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula group, and Syria that has already been added to the Levantine dialects group. In

addition, Iraq was included only in this group. Besides, this study results show categorization of the three countries Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan together, which Versteegh has not mentioned at all. He included Sudan only with the group of Egyptian dialects, which this study results did as well. However, he did not mention Djibouti and Somalia at all.

This leads us to some interesting reflections on the status of some countries that were included in different dialect areas classifications. To reflect back on Versteegh's classification of Sudan with the group of Egyptian dialects, I find it noteworthy that this study results depicted Sudan in three different dialect areas, as I mentioned before. First, Sudan was labeled as a separate dialect area of 111 occurrences (3.18%). Second, it was included in a group with both Djibouti and Somalia (with or without other countries) 102 times (2.91%). Finally, it was combined with Egypt (with or without other countries) 84 times (2.40%). Chart 12 demonstrates the different categorizations of Sudan. Accordingly, although it is still acceptable to include Sudan in the Egyptian dialect group since the study results have combined it with Egypt frequently enough, I believe it is more realistic to consider Sudan as a separate dialect area, or include it in a group with both Djibouti and Somalia.

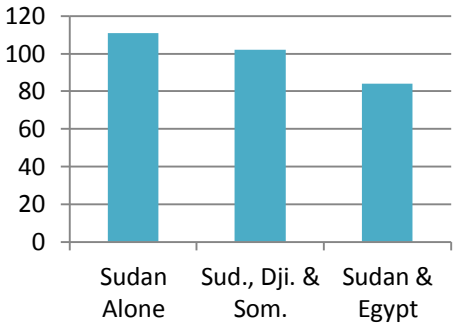

Chart 12. Categorization of Sudan

Chart 13 shows that Libya's status is interesting. Like Versteegh's classification, this study results include Libya in the Egyptian dialect group 25 times (0.72%), in the North African (Maghreb) dialects 201 times (5.75%), and as a separate dialect area 43 times (1.23%). In Theodoropoulou and Tyler's study (2014), Libya did not co-occur as often with

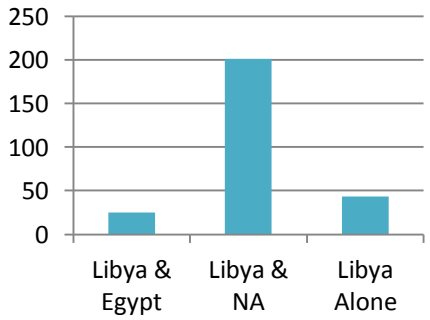

Chart 13. Categorization of Libya

Morocco, Algeria, or Tunisia as those countries do with each other. They interpreted this as meaning that Morocco is central to the Maghreb while Libya is more peripheral. However, according to participants' responses in this study, it might be more realistic to include Libya in the group of North African dialects.

Moreover, Chart 14 shows some interesting results regarding Iraq's classification. Similar to Theodoropoulou and Tyler's study (2014), in this study Iraq was sometimes labeled on its own as a separate dialect area 63 times (1.80%), and often combined with other countries such as the Levantine countries (69 times, 1.97%) or with Gulf countries (172 times, 4.92%). This makes the classification of Iraq's dialect quite controversial. This maybe explains why Versteegh (1997) includes Iraq in a separate group with a Gulf country, Kuwait, and a Levantine country, Syria, despite the fact that in his (1997) study, Iraq is clustered with Egypt and Syria into a class of dialects called the "Eastern Dialects". These results show that Iraq has an uncertain status as a dialect region in the Arab world, both in terms of whether it is its own dialect region or whether it would be part of the Gulf dialect area. However, according to participants' responses in this study, it might be more realistic to include Iraq in the group of Gulf dialects since this is the classification that received the largest number of responses.

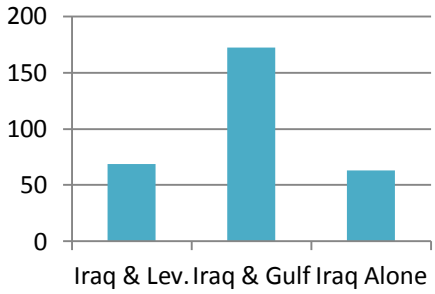

Chart 14. Categorization of Iraq

Similarly, results from this study show that Jordan was often categorized with the Gulf countries (30 times, 0.85%), or, most frequently, the Levantine countries (456 times, 13.05%). Maybe this explains why Versteegh includes Jordan in the Levantine dialects group exclusively.

Interestingly, Chart 15 shows that Mauritania, which is in the far west and is not located in the same geographical area as Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan, was often combined with them rather than with the countries that are geographically closer to it (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya). For example, it was combined with Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan 16 times (0.46%); with Djibouti and Somalia 11 times (0.31%), with Djibouti and Sudan 3 times (0.09%), with Djibouti 3 times (0.09%), and with Sudan 5 times (0.14%). I postulate that participants might have combined Mauritania with these geographically-distant countries in the same dialect area because they might have based their classification on intelligibility of these dialects, rather than their geographical area. Thus, they ended up grouping them together despite the fact that they are geographically distant.

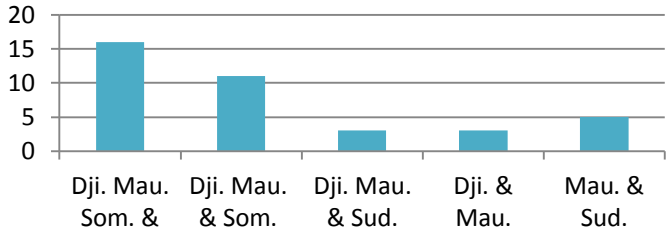

Chart 15. Categorization of Mauritania

Last but not least, Comoros, while a member of the Arab League, received almost no attention from our participants. It was mentioned only 6 times throughout the whole study results. It was sometimes categorized with Djibouti and Somalia, and sometimes with the Maghreb countries. This gives us a clear idea on Arab's perception of the dialect of Comoros. That is, they either have never been exposed to it so they combine it with less intelligible dialects, or maybe they do not think of it as a dialect of Arabic in the first place, and maybe that is why they do not think of it when they are thinking of Arabic dialects. Finally, participants' responses to this section of the questionnaire provide us with an answer to the first research question as it tells us how native speakers of Arabic define the imaginary borders of spoken dialects of Arabic through providing these five main dialect areas.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHICH DIALECT IS CLOSEST TO MODERN STANDARD ARABIC?

This is an interesting question that is not easy to answer. The caricature featured on the right, besides being very funny, gives us an idea about the diverse nature of the Arabic language. While Classical Arabic (CA) is a main influence on the dialects of Arabic (e.g. through education and media), each Arabic dialect has its own features (i.e. phonological, lexical, grammatical, etc.) that differentiate it from (CA). For example, the pronunciation of /q/ as a /q/ or /g/ is a main differentiator between dialect areas from different countries (international), or within the same country boundaries (national). It is not easy to identify a single dialect as the closes to MSA since sedentary Arabic shows morphological and syntactical deviation from Standard Arabic, while being more conservative phonetically than Bedouin varieties (Sayahi, 2014).

Source: www.italki.com

Versteegh (1997) claims that it is almost impossible for anyone, even native speakers, to master all the different registers and dialects of Arabic at the same time. He justifies his claim with his belief that "the linguistic distance between the Arabic dialects is as large as that between the Germanic

languages and the Romance languages if not larger" (Versteegh, 1997, p. 98). In addition, Kaye (1994) posits that Arabic dialects, like Germanic languages (e.g. English and Dutch) were historically related but now are "synchron-ically distinct."

After colonization, some countries were linguistically affected by the language of the colonizer. For example, Egyptian Arabic was affected by English, and North African dialects were affected by French. Although Arabization movements in Morocco fought against this linguistic influence and helped increase the borrowing from Standard Arabic into the dialect, the educational system remains heavily affected by French (Sayahi, 2014).

However, native speakers of the different varieties of Arabic would confirm that they, as well as other speakers, spoke Arabic even though their dialects are sometimes mutually unintelligible (Holes, 2004). Thus, Arab governments, in turn, favor the use of SA in their official communications and announcements to avoid the conflicts that might arise from the differences between different dialects (Bassiouney, 2009). So what exactly do we mean when we say that they "speak Arabic"?

In this chapter, I will provide Arabic native speakers' beliefs of which dialect is the closest to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), rather than trying to provide an answer to the age-long question of which Arabic dialect is the closest to MSA. I will first present and analyze their responses. Then, I will try to find a correlation between participants' answers and their nationalities. This might help determine whether their perception is based on where they are from or not. That is, whether participants are choosing a specific dialect or dialect area to be the closest to MSA because it is the dialect they speak and they are in favor of it, or it is merely a perception and the correlation between their nationality and their choice is random.

This study received 744 different responses to this question. After excluding some of these responses for being invalid (i.e. providing an irrelevant response, or a word that is not a

dialect, a country or a nationality, etc.), valid responses are 711. These responses were divided as follows: responses that had one country / dialect area as the closest to MSA (580 times, 81.58%), and responses that had more than one dialect area listed as the closest to MSA (76 times, 10.68%). Besides, 42 respondents (5.90%) stated that none of the dialects is close to MSA, while only 4 respondents (0.56%) believe that all dialects are equally close to MSA. In addition, nine respondents (1.26%) stated that they "do not know", or are "not sure" which dialect or dialect area could be considered the closest to MSA.

The "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to MSA?" question was answered through participants' responses that selected the dialect of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) to be the dialect most perceived to be closest to MSA (175 times, 24.61%). Egypt and Syria came in the second place with a total number of occurrences of 50 times (7.03%), each. Third, Yemen occurred 49 times (6.89%). Finally, the Gulf dialect region was recognized as the closest to MSA 45 times (6.32%). Table 3 below lists the 15 most common answers to the "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to MSA?" question; followed by Chart 16 that shows an A-curve of these 15 most common responses. See Appendix III for all the 711 participants' responses.

Table 3
The 15 most common answers to "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to MSA?"

Response	**Occurrences**	**Percentage**	**Response**	**Occurrences**	**Percentage**
KSA	175	24.61	Levant	29	4.07
Egypt	50	7.03	Jordan	25	3.51
Syria	50	7.03	Tunisia	16	2.25
Yemen	49	6.89	Oman	13	1.82
Gulf	45	6.32	UAE	13	1.82
None	42	5.90	Morocco	12	1.68
Palestine	34	4.78	Don't Know	9	1.26
Iraq	32	4.50	**Total**	**585**	**83.54**

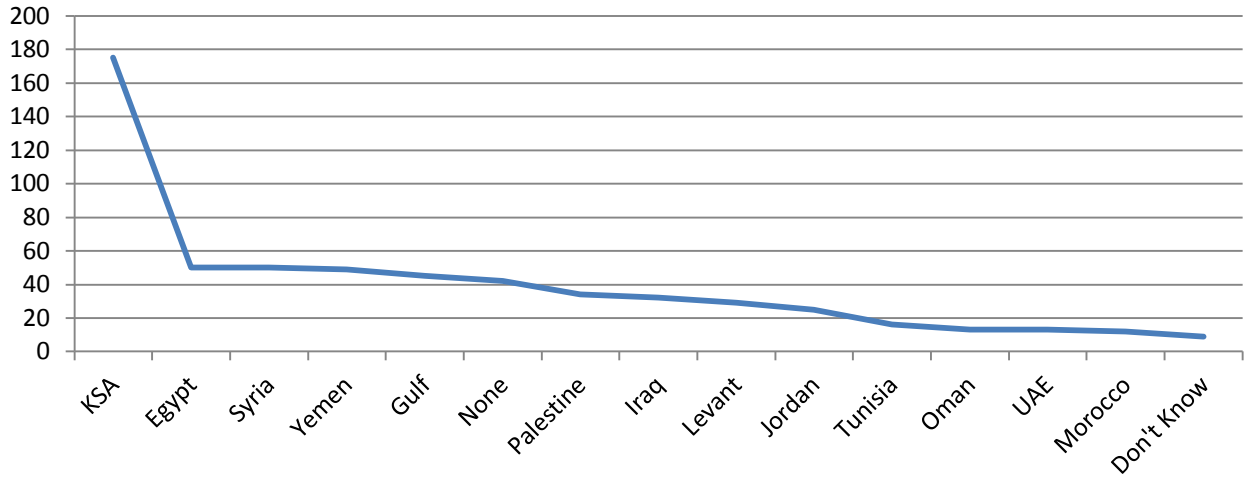

Chart 16. A-curve of the 15 most common answers to "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to MSA?"

I will now try to find a correlation between participants' answers and their nationalities. If we look at the dialect of Saudi Arabia, the dialect area most recognized as the closest to MSA, we will notice that the highest number of responses supporting this category came from Egyptian participants (125, 71.42%). Interestingly, only 14 Saudi participants, out of 32 total, labeled their dialect, alone or combined with another dialect area (i.e. Yemen), as the closest to MSA. On the other hand, Egyptians do not believe that their dialect is the closest to MSA. Only 52 (12.47%) out of 417 Egyptian participants labeled Egyptian dialect, alone or combined with another dialect area (i.e. Jordan), as the closest to MSA. However, most of the top 15 dialects categorized as the closest to MSA were responses by mostly Egyptians.

Some interesting responses stated that either "all" or "none" of the dialects are close to MSA. I wondered if their response of "all" or "none" was because of their educational level, major of study or career specialty. Six respondents (0.84%), three of them are specialized in Arabic Language, stated that all Arabic dialects are based on MSA and are equally close to it. Besides, 34 respondents (4.78%) believe that none of the Arabic dialects could be labeled as the closest to MSA. Nine of those 34 are specialized in second language acquisition, linguistics or teaching Arabic as a foreign language.

Syria and Mesopotamia sedentary (non-mobile speakers) and urban dialects already coexisted in the period before Islam. Most of the Bedouin (mobile speakers) dialects in this area belong to speakers who are still in contact with tribes in the interior of the Arabic Peninsula. On the other hand, Since the Bedouin dialects of North Africa stem from tribes that (prior to their migration to North Africa) had already been subjected for a long time to influence from sedentary speakers. Thus, they show lesser degree of conservatism in their dialects. Besides, it is known that innovations are much more frequent in the sedentary dialects (i.e. Syrian Arabic), whereas the Bedouin dialects (i.e. dialects of the Arab peninsula) tend to be more conservative (Versteegh, 1997). This could explain why Eastern Arabic countries (e.g. KSA, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, etc.) were labeled as the closest to MSA more frequently than Western Arabic countries (e.g. Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania). Similarly, respondents' choice of the dialect of Saudi Arabia to be the closest to MSA could be interpreted as a direct result of people's perception of how more or less conservative some dialects could be, besides the fact that the Arabic Peninsula and specially Saudi Arabia is historically considered the birthplace of both Islam and Arabic.

To conclude, although two respondents said that everyone claims that his or her dialect is the closest to MSA, there was no obvious correlation between respondents' nationalities and their choices of the dialect they think is the closest to MSA. Some respondents favored their dialect, and some others believed another dialect to be the closest to MSA. For example, 6 (60%) out of 10 Syrians believe that Syrian dialect, alone or combined with another dialect area, is the closest to MSA. On the other hand, 20 Omanis (54.05%) out of 37 chose another dialect, or dialect area, that is not their own, to be the closest to MSA.

CHAPTER SIX

PERCEPTION OF DIALECT AREAS

In this chapter, I will present and analyze data on the identification and perception of different dialect areas of Arabic. The second part of the questionnaire used in the study contained five audio clips. Each of them featured a vernacular that belongs to a different dialect area in the Arab world. For example, I choose Cairene Arabic to represent Egypt. Thus, the examples do not represent the whole spectrum of dialects within each country but only give an example of the kind of differences that exist between different national vernaculars. The vernaculars chosen are:

1. Syrian Colloquial Arabic (SCA), part of the Levantine group of dialects.
2. Kuwaiti Colloquial Arabic (KCA), part of the Gulf Arabic dialect group.
3. Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), part of the Egyptian group of dialects.
4. Iraqi Colloquial Arabic (ICA), part of the Mesopotamian group of dialects.
5. Tunisian Colloquial Arabic (TCA), part of the North African group of dialects.

These five audio clips were separately evaluated by third-party websites that have labeled them according to the country or dialect region they are featuring. The first, second, third and fourth audio clips featuring the Syrian, Kuwaiti, Egyptian and Iraqi dialects, respectively, were retrieved from the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC) website that could be found at http://phone.dliflc.edu/. The fifth audio clip featuring the Tunisian dialect was

retrieved from "*SemArch - Semitisches Tonarchiv*", a German website on different regional Arabic dialects, which could be found at http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de/index.php43. I edited these audio clips to make them of shorter length (between 1 minute and 10 seconds and 2 minutes and 22 seconds). I have also removed parts that might indicate the dialect region. The transcript of these five audio clips could be found, along with their translation in Appendix IV.

This part of the survey asked participants to listen to the five audio clips and answer five questions on each. Responses to this part of the questionnaire address the last five research questions investigating where they believe the speaker(s) of the dialect they listened to is from, how different the dialect they speak is from the dialects they listened to, how correct, pleasant, close to (or distant from) MSA they believe these Arabic dialects are.

The first audio clip received 643 responses for each of the 5 questions (643 X 5 = 3,215 total responses for the first audio clip), the second audio clip received 610 responses for each of the 5 questions (610 X 5 = 3,050 responses), the third audio clip received 593 responses for each of the 5 questions (593 X 5 = 2,965 responses), the fourth clip received 570 responses for each of the 5 questions (570 X 5 = 2,850 responses), and finally, the fifth clip received 564 responses for each of the 5 questions (564 X 5 = 2820 responses), with a total number of 14,900 responses. Table 4 shows the number of correct and incorrect answers and their percentages to the first question, for each of the five audio clips. The first question asked the respondents about where they believe the speaker(s) in the audio clip they have listened to is (are) from. Table 4 gives us an idea on Arabic native speakers' ability to identify dialects of Arabic other than the one they speak. It might also serve as an indicator of popularity of some dialect regions over others. Chart 16 compares the five dialects and the percentage of participants correctly identifying them.

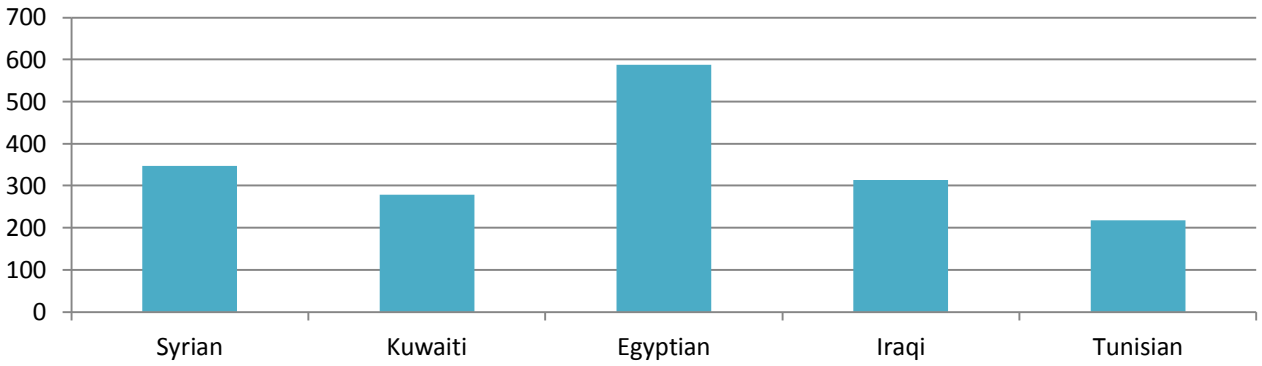

Chart 17. Correct identification of different dialect areas.

Table 4
The number of correct and incorrect answers and their percentages to the first question for each of the five audio clips

	Correct	Percentage	Incorrect	Percentage	Total
Audio Clip 1: Syrian	347	53.97	296	46.03	643
Audio Clip 2: Kuwaiti	279	45.74	331	54.26	610
Audio Clip 3: Egyptian	587	98.99	6	1.01	593
Audio Clip 4: Iraqi	313	54.91	257	45.09	570
Audio Clip 5: Tunisian	218	38.65	346	61.34	564

We can infer from Chart 17 that Tunisian dialect is the least recognized dialect among them all. It was often identified as Libyan dialect (103 times, 18.26%). Kuwaiti dialect is the second least recognized dialect with a number of correct identifications of 279 times (45.74%). Kuwaiti dialect was usually identified by respondents as Iraqi dialect (67 times, 10.98%) or as a Gulf dialect in general (32 times, 5.25%). Syrian dialect is in the third place with 347 (53.97%) correct identifications. It was often confused as a Lebanese dialect (139 times, 21.62%). The second most recognizable dialect is Iraqi with 313 (54.91%) correct identifications. Iraqi dialect was often recognized as Saudi dialect (56 times, 9.82%) or Kuwaiti (38 times, 6.67%). It is obvious that respondents are not quite skilled in differentiating between the dialects of Iraq and

Kuwait. On the contrary, Egyptian dialect is the most recognizable dialect of them. There were only six incorrect misidentifications (1.01%) out of the total of 593 responses.

These results could be due to what Trudgill (1986) calls “Dialect Contact”, or the process of “Koineization” (Samarin, 1971). Koineization is the rapid process of creating new varieties of a language as a result of contact between speakers of different varieties of that language, which spreads outside the borders of the dialects in contact. For example, the Egyptian dialect has become known all over the Arab world because of broadcasting Egyptian movies and television soap operas almost everywhere (Versteegh, 1997). In addition, expatriate teachers, technicians, and professionals of all kinds from Egypt and the Levant worked for decades in different regions of the Arab World (e.g. such as the Gulf States). In addition, students from all over the Arab world have studied in the universities of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq (Holes, 2004).

In most countries, almost everybody understands Egyptian Arabic, and sometimes the speakers accommodate their speech to Egyptian for the purposes of communication such as Tunisians accommodation to eastern speakers of Arabic (Shiri, 2013). Moreover, when Yemenis speak to Egyptians, they would use Egyptian words (e.g. kwayyis 'o.k.', mush 'not' and kida 'like this, so') and even Egyptian morphology (e.g. the use of “bi-” for habitual meaning, the use of the Egyptian “rah-/ha-” is for the future instead of Yemeni “sa-”) (Versteegh, 1997).

In this part of the chapter, I will present and analyze data based on the responses to the question: How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic spoken, in the audio clip you listened to, to be from the dialect you speak? These choices to respond to this question are: same dialect, a little different, different, and unintelligibly different. Table 5 below shows the distribution of the responses to all the audio clips between those four choices. Most significant numbers are highlighted in grey.

Table 5 shows that Egyptian, as mentioned before, is the dialect spoken most by the respondents. Syrian is the dialect most labeled as 'a little different' from the dialects the respondents speak. Kuwaiti is the dialect most labeled as 'different' from the dialects the respondents speak. Finally, and interestingly, the dialect most labeled as 'unintelligibly different' is Tunisian. This could mean that 147 respondents (26.06%) out of 564, do not understand Tunisian dialect and find it unintelligibly different from the dialects they speak. Iraqi dialect, however, did not receive significantly high numbers in any of the four choices provided.

Table 5
Responses to the question "How different do you believe the dialect of Arabic, spoken in the audio clip you listened to, to be from the dialect you speak?"

	Same Dialect		A Little Different		Different		Unintelligibly Different		Total
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	
Audio Clip 1: Syrian	62	9.64	283	44.01	287	44.63	11	1.72	643
Audio Clip 2: Kuwaiti	19	3.11	140	22.95	419	68.69	32	5.25	610
Audio Clip 3: Egyptian	333	56.16	69	11.64	184	31.02	7	1.18	593
Audio Clip 4: Iraqi	20	3.51	163	28.60	360	63.15	27	4.74	570
Audio Clip 5: Tunisian	38	6.74	89	15.78	290	51.42	147	26.06	564

I will now present and analyze data based on the responses to the question: How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic spoken in the audio clip you listened to? These responses were distributed between four choices: correct, a little correct, a little incorrect, and incorrect. Table 6 below shows the distribution of the responses to all the audio clips between these four choices. Most significant numbers are highlighted in grey. Egyptian dialect was the dialect recognized as 'correct'. Syrian dialect is the dialect most labeled as 'a little correct'. Finally, and interestingly, Tunisian is the dialect most labeled as both 'a little incorrect' and "incorrect" by respondents.

Table 6
Responses to the question "How correc' do you find the Arabic dialect spoken in the audio clip you listened to?"

	Correct		A Little Correct		A Little Incorrect		Incorrect		Total
	Count	**%**	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**	
Audio Clip 1: Syrian	191	29.70	372	57.85	68	10.58	12	1.87	643
Audio Clip 2: Kuwaiti	132	21.64	318	52.13	132	21.64	28	4.59	610
Audio Clip 3: Egyptian	304	51.26	190	32.04	82	13.83	17	2.87	593
Audio Clip 4: Iraqi	171	30	283	49.65	97	17.02	19	3.33	570
Audio Clip 5: Tunisian	127	22.52	240	42.55	135	23.94	62	10.99	564

This part analyzes the responses to the question: How 'pleasant' do you find the dialect of Arabic spoken in the audio clip you listened to? These responses were distributed between four choices: pleasant, a little pleasant, a little unpleasant, or unpleasant. Table 7 below shows the distribution of the responses to all the audio clips between those four choices. Most significant numbers are highlighted in grey. Table 7 shows that Egyptian dialect was recognized as the most 'pleasant' dialect. Iraqi dialect is the dialect most labeled as 'a little pleasant'. Kuwaiti dialect was the most labeled 'a little unpleasant'. Finally, and interestingly, both Kuwaiti and Tunisian dialects were the dialects most frequently labeled 'unpleasant', almost equally.

Table 7
Responses to the question "How pleasant do you find the Arabic dialect spoken in the audio clip you listened to?"

	Pleasant		A Little Pleasant		A Little Unpleasant		Unpleasant		Total
	Count	**%**	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**	
Audio Clip 1: Syrian	348	54.12	223	34.68	44	6.84	28	4.36	643
Audio Clip 2: Kuwaiti	80	13.11	199	32.62	200	32.79	131	21.48	610
Audio Clip 3: Egyptian	363	61.21	161	27.15	43	7.25	26	4.38	593
Audio Clip 4: Iraqi	159	27.89	198	34.74	147	25.79	66	11.58	570
Audio Clip 5: Tunisian	128	22.70	161	28.55	152	26.94	123	21.81	564

This part analyzes the responses to the question: How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe the dialect of Arabic spoken in the audio clip you listened to is? Responses were distributed between four choices: close, somehow close, somehow distant or distant. Table 8 below shows the distribution of these responses to all the audio clips between those four choices. Most significant numbers are highlighted in grey.

Table 8
Responses to the question "How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe the dialect of Arabic (spoken in the audio clip you listened to) is?"

	Close		Somehow Close		Somehow Distant		Distant		Total
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	
Audio Clip 1: Syrian	56	8.71	276	42.92	215	33.44	96	14.93	643
Audio Clip 2: Kuwaiti	43	7.05	218	35.74	206	33.77	143	23.44	610
Audio Clip 3: Egyptian	56	9.44	197	33.22	206	34.74	134	22.60	593
Audio Clip 4: Iraqi	53	9.30	256	44.91	169	29.65	92	16.14	570
Audio Clip 5: Tunisian	41	7.27	155	27.48	178	31.56	190	33.69	564

Table 8 shows that Egyptian dialect was labeled as the dialect most 'close' to MSA and, at the same time, the most 'somehow distant' from MSA. Iraqi dialect is the dialect most recognized as 'somehow close' to MSA. Finally, Tunisian dialect was labeled as the most 'distant' dialect from MSA. This could be due to people's perception that North African Arabic is corrupted because of their Berber origins, the influence of French colonization and the heavy lexical borrowing from French as well as Berber into Tunisian Arabic (Gabsi, 2011). For example, one of the responses to the "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to MSA?" question in this study was "all dialects are close to MSA except the North African dialects because they are influenced by French". This response gives us an insight on the reason why most of the other respondents might have not chosen a North African dialect as the closest to

MSA. Overall, there is a degree of variation, more lexical than structural, among the three Maghrebi dialects. A number of sociolinguistic factors have allowed for contact between these dialects and MSA, on the one hand, and between these dialects and other languages (e.g. French and Berber) on the other (Sayahi, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Arabic is one of the languages that are not extensively studied in the field of perceptual dialectology. A limited number of studies covered the Arab World. This is a perceptual dialectology study that aims at investigating Arabic native speakers' perception of Arabic dialect areas. This study utilized a questionnaire that is based on Preston's (1999, p. xxxiv–xxxv) principal techniques that he developed for investigating perceptual dialectology in the 1980s. Respondents who took the questionnaire are 716 Arab males and females from different backgrounds, nationalities and age levels.

This questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part includes a detailed map of the Arab world and participants are asked to identify as many dialect areas of Arabic as they could. Responses to this part were categorized into the 5 most recognized dialect areas: 1) Egypt. 2) Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. 3) Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria. 4) Bahrain, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates. 5) Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan. Some countries (Sudan, Libya, Iraq, and Mauritania) were classified in more than one dialect area. This categorization was compared to that of Versteegh (1997) and some minor differences in the categorization were found.

Responses to the "Which dialect do you believe to be the closest to Modern Standard Arabic?" question revealed the dialect of Saudi Arabic as the dialect most perceived to be the closest to MSA. Surprisingly, respondents' choice of Saudi Arabia did not reflect where they are from. This choice was merely random and was not correlated to respondents' nationalities. In

addition, some respondents believed ‘all’ Arabic dialects are equally close to MSA while others believed that ‘none’ of the dialects is close to MSA. Nonetheless, responses to this question gave us an idea about Arabic dialects perceived to be the closest to MSA.

The second part of the questionnaire had 5 audio clips featuring a dialect each (Syrian, Kuwaiti, Egyptian, Iraqi and Tunisian). There were five questions on each audio clip: 1) where do you believe the speaker(s) in the audio clip is (are) from? 2) How different do you believe the dialect of Arabic, spoken in the audio clip you listened to, to be from the dialect you speak? 3) How ‘correct’ do you find the dialect of Arabic spoken in the audio clip you listened to? 4) How ‘pleasant’ do you find the dialect of Arabic spoken in the audio clip you listened to? 5) How ‘close’ to or ‘distant’ from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe the dialect of Arabic (spoken in the audio clip you listened to) is? Results show that Egyptian was the dialect most identified correctly (98.99%). Tunisian is the dialect most labeled as ‘unintelligibly different’. Egyptian dialect was the most dialect recognized as ‘correct’, while Tunisian was the dialect most labeled as both ‘a little incorrect’ and “incorrect” by respondents. Egyptian dialect was recognized as the most ‘pleasant’ dialect, while both Kuwaiti and Tunisian dialects were the dialects most frequently labeled ‘unpleasant’, almost equally. Egyptian dialect was labeled as the dialect most ‘close’ to MSA and, at the same time, the most ‘somehow distant’ from MSA while Tunisian dialect was labeled as the most ‘distant’ dialect from MSA.

We can conclude that results of this study, if not fully answer the 7 research questions proposed at the beginning, give us an idea about Arabic native speakers’ perception of different dialect areas of Arabic. However, this study had some limitations that might have affected the results. First of all, respondents did not represent all Arabic countries. I could not get any participants from Comoros, Djibouti, Mauritania or Somalia. Second, perception of only five

dialects (Syrian, Kuwaiti, Egyptian, Iraqi and Tunisian) was investigated in this study. Other dialects or dialect areas were not covered under this study. Finally, this study did not extensively investigate whether social factors, if any, feed respondents' perception of different dialect areas of Arabic. Future research is highly encouraged to address these limitations which would contribute to a clearer picture of Arabic native speakers' perception of Arabic dialects.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX I:

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE STUDY

Part A: Participant's Background

Name (optional): ……..…… Age: ……..……..

Gender: □ Male □ Female Nationality: ……..…..

Highest Degree: □ High School □ Bachelor □ Master's Degree

□ Doctorate □ Post Doctorate □ Other ……..

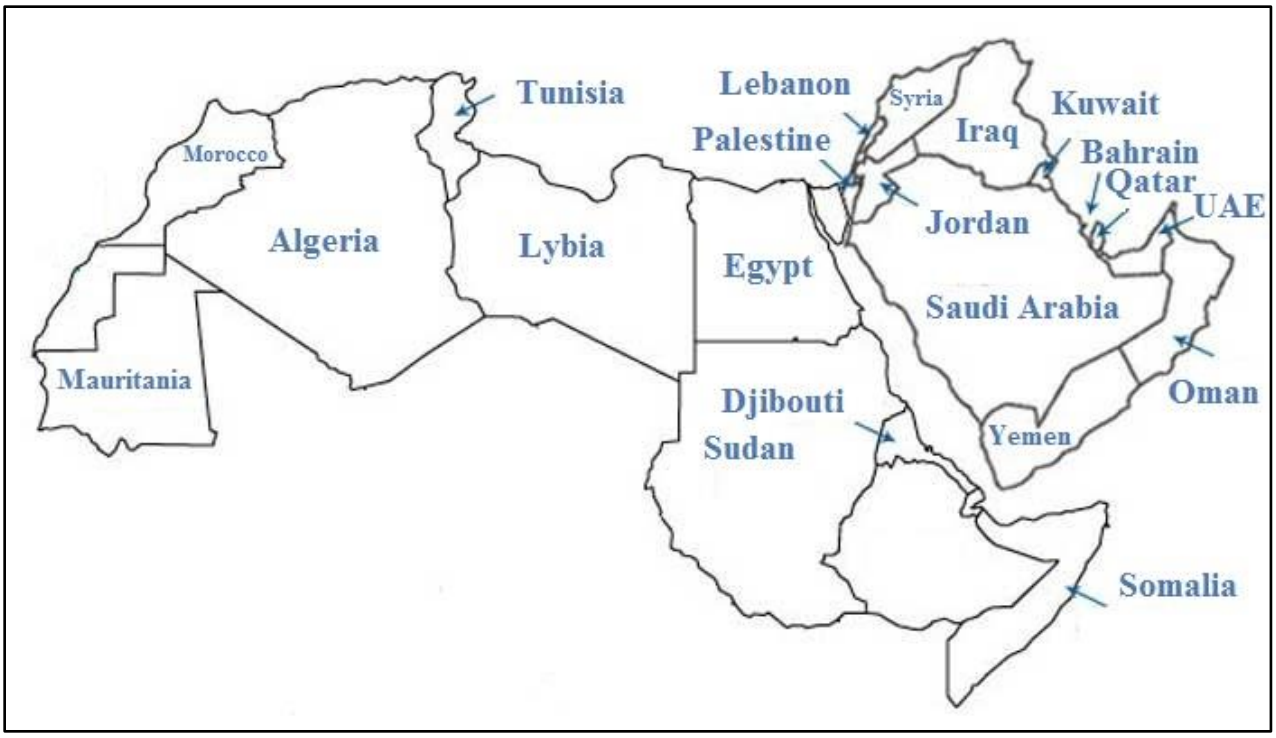
Educational Major or Professional Specialization: ……...

Have you ever lived in other countries? □ No □ Yes

If yes, please list: .....

Part B: Dialect Areas Mapping

I. This is a map to the Arab World. Categorize the Arab countries according to the dialect areas you know. Draw boundaries around areas where you believe people speak the same dialect of Arabic. Label these dialects and write comments if necessary.



II. Which of these dialects do you believe to be the closest to Modern Standard Arabic?

……...……..……

III. How were you exposed to dialects of Arabic other than the one you speak? Check all that apply. □ TV & Internet □ Travel □ Friends

□ Neighbors □ Colleagues □ Other ……...

IV. OPTIONAL: Please fill in your name and contact information if you were interested in participating in a short (10 to 15 minutes) interview on the phone or Skype on the topic of Arabic dialects. **Name:** ……...

Email: …….. . **Phone Number:** ……...……

Part C: Dialect Areas Identification and Perception

Listen to the attached audio clips and answer the questions that follow:

Audio clip # 1: I believe the speaker is from ……..…….....

1. How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #1) to be from the dialect you speak?

□ same dialect □ a little different □ different □ unintelligibly different

2. How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #1)?

□ correct □ a little correct □ a little incorrect □ incorrect

3. How 'pleasant' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #1)?

□ pleasant □ a little pleasant □ a little unpleasant □ unpleasant

4. How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe this dialect (spoken in audio clip #1) is?

□ close □ somehow close □ somehow distant □ distant

Audio clip # 2: I believe the speaker is from ……..…….....

1. How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #2) to be from the dialect you speak?

□ same dialect □ a little different □ different □ unintelligibly different

2. How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #2)?

□ correct □ a little correct □ a little incorrect □ incorrect

3. How 'pleasant' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #1)?

□ pleasant □ a little pleasant □ a little unpleasant □ unpleasant

4. How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe this dialect (spoken in audio clip #2) is?

□ close □ somehow close □ somehow distant □ distant

Audio clip # 3: I believe the speaker is from ……..…….....

1. How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #3) to be from the dialect you speak?

□ same dialect □ a little different □ different □ unintelligibly different

2. How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #3)?

□ correct □ a little correct □ a little incorrect □ incorrect

3. How 'pleasant' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #3)?

□ pleasant □ a little pleasant □ a little unpleasant □ unpleasant

4. How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe this dialect (spoken in audio clip #3) is?

□ close □ somehow close □ somehow distant □ distant

Audio clip # 4: I believe the speaker is from ……..…….....

1. How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #4) to be from the dialect you speak?

□ same dialect □ a little different □ different □ unintelligibly different

2. How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #4)?

□ correct □ a little correct □ a little incorrect □ incorrect

3. How 'pleasant' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #4)?

□ pleasant □ a little pleasant □ a little unpleasant □ unpleasant

4. How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe this dialect (spoken in audio clip #4) is?

□ close □ somehow close □ somehow distant □ distant

Audio clip # 5: I believe the speaker is from ……..…….....

1. How different do you believe this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #5) to be from the dialect you speak?

□ same dialect □ a little different □ different □ unintelligibly different

2. How 'correct' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #5)?

□ correct □ a little correct □ a little incorrect □ incorrect

3. How 'pleasant' do you find this dialect of Arabic (spoken in audio clip #5)?

□ pleasant □ a little pleasant □ a little unpleasant □ unpleasant

4. How 'close' to or 'distant' from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) do you believe this dialect (spoken in audio clip #5) is?

□ close □ somehow close □ somehow distant □ distant

End of Questionnaire

APPENDIX II:

FULL LIST OF DIALECT AREAS/GROUPS AS RECOGNIZED BY THE PARTICIPANTS

Dialect Area	Times	%
Egypt	425	12.16
Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia	260	7.44
Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	246	7.04
Lebanon, Syria	122	3.49
Sudan	111	3.18
Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia	96	2.75
Jordan, Palestine	89	2.55
KSA	78	2.23
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	77	2.20
Egypt, Sudan	72	2.06
Iraq	63	1.80
Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan	61	1.75
Algeria, Morocco	54	1.55
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	50	1.43
Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia	49	1.40
Libya	43	1.23
Iraq, Kuwait	42	1.20
Oman, Yemen	41	1.17
Morocco	40	1.14
Lebanon	39	1.12
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	38	1.09
Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	38	1.09
Jordan, Lebanon, Syria	34	0.97
Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia	31	0.89
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	31	0.89
Djibouti, Somalia	29	0.83
Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	27	0.77
Syria	27	0.77
Yemen	27	0.77
Algeria, Tunisia	26	0.74
KSA, Yemen	25	0.72
Mauritania	25	0.72
Somalia, Sudan	25	0.72
Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	24	0.69
Algeria	22	0.63
Bahrain, KSA, Qatar, UAE	22	0.63
Tunisia	22	0.63
KSA, Kuwait	20	0.57
Morocco, Tunisia	20	0.57
KSA, Kuwait, UAE	19	0.54
Libya, Tunisia	19	0.54
UAE	19	0.54
KSA, UAE	18	0.52
Oman, UAE	18	0.52

Somalia	18	0.52
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	17	0.49
Jordan	17	0.49
Jordan, Palestine, Syria	17	0.49
Kuwait	17	0.49
Djibouti, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan	16	0.46
Djibouti, Sudan	16	0.46
Egypt, Libya	16	0.46
Qatar, UAE	16	0.46
Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar	12	0.34
Jordan, Syria	12	0.34
KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	12	0.34
Oman	12	0.34
Algeria, Libya, Tunisia	11	0.31
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, UAE	11	0.31
Djibouti, Mauritania, Somalia	11	0.31
KSA, Kuwait, Qatar	11	0.31
KSA, Oman, Yemen	11	0.31
Palestine	11	0.31
Algeria, Libya	10	0.29
Bahrain, KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	10	0.29
Bahrain, Qatar, UAE	10	0.29
KSA, Qatar	9	0.26
KSA, Qatar, UAE	9	0.26
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait	8	0.23
Bahrain, Kuwait	8	0.23
KSA, Sudan	8	0.23
Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	8	0.23
Kuwait, UAE	8	0.23
Bahrain, Qatar	7	0.20
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	6	0.17
Bahrain, KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE	6	0.17
Egypt, Libya, Sudan	6	0.17
Egypt, Palestine	6	0.17
Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	6	0.17
Iraq, Lebanon, Syria	6	0.17
Libya, Morocco, Tunisia	6	0.17
Bahrain	5	0.14
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	5	0.14
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	5	0.14
Iraq, Syria	5	0.14
KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	5	0.14
KSA, UAE, Yemen	5	0.14
Lebanon, Palestine	5	0.14
Libya, Mauritania	5	0.14

Libya, Sudan	5	0.14
Mauritania, Sudan	5	0.14
Palestine, Syria	5	0.14
Sudan, Yemen	5	0.14
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar	4	0.11
Bahrain, KSA, UAE	4	0.11
Bahrain, KSA, Yemen	4	0.11
Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	4	0.11
Bahrain, Kuwait, UAE	4	0.11
Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan	5	0.14
Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine	4	0.11
Qatar	4	0.11
Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen	3	0.09
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Yemen	3	0.09
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	3	0.09
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait	3	0.09
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Yemen	3	0.09
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar	3	0.09
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	3	0.09
Bahrain, KSA, Qatar	3	0.09
Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, UAE	3	0.09
Djibouti, Egypt, Sudan	3	0.09
Djibouti, Mauritania	3	0.09
Djibouti, Mauritania, Sudan	3	0.09
Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen	3	0.09
Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	3	0.09
Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	3	0.09
Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria	3	0.09
Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, Syria	3	0.09
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait	3	0.09
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	3	0.09
Iraq, Palestine	3	0.09
KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	3	0.09
KSA, Oman	3	0.09
Libya, Oman, Yemen	3	0.09
Algeria, Egypt	2	0.06
Algeria, Libya, Morocco	2	0.06
Algeria, Mauritania	2	0.06
Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco	2	0.06
Bahrain, Iraq	2	0.06
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, UAE	2	0.06
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, UAE	2	0.06
Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
Bahrain, KSA	2	0.06

Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar	2	0.06
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
Bahrain, KSA, Oman, Yemen	2	0.06
Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar	2	0.06
Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
Djibouti, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen	2	0.06
Egypt, KSA	2	0.06
Egypt, KSA, Sudan	2	0.06
Egypt, Lebanon	2	0.06
Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	2	0.06
Egypt, Palestine, Sudan	2	0.06
Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Yemen	2	0.06
Iraq, UAE	2	0.06
Jordan, KSA	2	0.06
Jordan, KSA, Yemen	2	0.06
Jordan, Libya, Palestine	2	0.06
Jordan, Oman	2	0.06
Jordan, Oman, Yemen	2	0.06
KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
KSA, Kuwait, Yemen	2	0.06
KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
KSA, Qatar, Yemen	2	0.06
Kuwait, Qatar	2	0.06
Libya, Somalia, Sudan	2	0.06
Morocco, Mauritania	2	0.06
Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia	2	0.06
Oman, Palestine	2	0.06
Oman, Tunisia, Yemen	2	0.06
Oman, UAE, Yemen	2	0.06
Somalia, Sudan, Yemen	2	0.06
Sudan, Nuba	2	0.06
Turkey	2	0.06
Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Tunisia, Yemen	1	0.03
Algeria, Comoros, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Comoros, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia	1	0.03
Algeria, Djibouti, Mauritania, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Kuwait, Yemen	1	0.03
Algeria, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Libya, Mauritania	1	0.03
Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco	1	0.03

Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Yemen	1	0.03
Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia	1	0.03
Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia	1	0.03
Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, KSA, Syria, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq (south), Jordan (south), KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan (South), KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, Syria, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Palestine, Qatar, Syria, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Oman, Qatar	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Oman, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, KSA, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman	1	0.03
Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Bahrain, Kuwait, Sudan	1	0.03
Bahrain, Oman	1	0.03
Bahrain, Oman, Qatar	1	0.03
Bahrain, Oman, UAE	1	0.03
Bahrain, UAE	1	0.03
Comoros	1	0.03
Comoros, Djibouti, Somalia	1	0.03
Comoros, Mauritania	1	0.03
Djibouti	1	0.03
Djibouti, Egypt	1	0.03

Djibouti, Egypt, KSA, Oman, Somalia, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Somalia, Sudan	1	0.03
Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia	1	0.03
Djibouti, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan	1	0.03
Djibouti, Libya (western desert), Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen	1	0.03
Djibouti, Libya, Somalia, Sudan	1	0.03
Djibouti, Mauritania, Morocco	1	0.03
Djibouti, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia	1	0.03
Djibouti, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Libya	1	0.03
Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea	1	0.03
Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia	1	0.03
Djibouti, Somalia, Yemen	1	0.03
Djibouti, Yemen	1	0.03
Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya	1	0.03
Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Iraq, Libya	1	0.03
Egypt, Jordan, KSA, Libya, Palestine, Sudan	1	0.03
Egypt, Jordan, KSA, Palestine, Syria, UAE	1	0.03
Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Palestine	1	0.03
Egypt, KSA, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Palestine, Qatar	1	0.03
Egypt, KSA, Libya, Sudan,	1	0.03
Egypt, KSA, Libya, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine	1	0.03
Egypt, Libya, Palestine, Sudan	1	0.03
Egypt, Libya, Qatar	1	0.03
Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Yemen	1	0.03
Egypt, Morocco	1	0.03
Egypt, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Somalia	1	0.03
Egypt, Sudan, Syria	1	0.03
Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia	1	0.03
Egypt, Sudan, Yemen	1	0.03
Egypt, Tunisia	1	0.03
Egypt, UAE	1	0.03
Iran (East), Djibouti, Somalia, Chad	1	0.03
Iraq, Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Sudan, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Palestine, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Palestine, Syria, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Syria	1	0.03

Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya,Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, Oman, Palestine, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, Palestine	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, Syria	1	0.03
Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Mauritania, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Kuwait, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, KSA, Lebanon, Syria	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Libya	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, UAE	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Syria	1	0.03
Iraq, Kuwait, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Lebanon	1	0.03
Iraq, Libya	1	0.03
Iraq, Libya, Oman, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Libya, Yemen	1	0.03
Iraq, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Kuwait	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Palestine, Oman, Yemen	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Qatar	1	0.03
Jordan, KSA, Qatar, Syria	1	0.03
Jordan, Kuwait, UAE	1	0.03
Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Syria, Yemen	1	0.03
Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Yemen	1	0.03
Jordan, Oman, Palestine	1	0.03
Jordan, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, KSA, UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait	1	0.03
Jordan, Palestine, Oman	1	0.03
Jordan, Palestine, Sudan	1	0.03
Jordan, Somalia, Sudan	1	0.03
KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Yemen	1	0.03
KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen	1	0.03
KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, Sudan, UAE	1	0.03
KSA, Kuwait, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
KSA, Lebanon, Palestine	1	0.03
KSA, Libya, Oman, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03

KSA, Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
KSA, Oman, Qatar, Yemen	1	0.03
KSA, Oman, UAE	1	0.03
KSA, Oman, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
KSA, Palestine	1	0.03
KSA, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Kuwait, Lebanon, UAE	1	0.03
Kuwait, Oman	1	0.03
Kuwait, Oman, Qatar	1	0.03
Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Lebanon, KSA, Syria, UAE	1	0.03
Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan, Syria	1	0.03
Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia	1	0.03
Libya, Morocco	1	0.03
Libya, Oman, Sudan, Yemen	1	0.03
Libya, Palestine, Syria	1	0.03
Libya, Syria	1	0.03
Libya, Yemen	1	0.03
Mauritania, Somalia	1	0.03
Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan	1	0.03
Morocco, Sudan	1	0.03
Oman, Jordan, KSA, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Oman, KSA, Yemen, Jordan	1	0.03
Oman, Palestine, Yemen	1	0.03
Oman, Qatar	1	0.03
Oman, Qatar, UAE	1	0.03
Oman, Qatar, Yemen	1	0.03
Oman, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen	1	0.03
Palestine, Sudan	1	0.03
Qatar, Iraq, Bahrain, KSA, Kuwait, Oman, Sudan, UAE, Yemen	1	0.03
Somalia, Eritrea	1	0.03
Somalia, Sudan, Chad	1	0.03
Sudan, Chad	1	0.03
Sudan, Eritrea	1	0.03
Syria, Tunisia, Yemen	1	0.03
Tunisia, UAE	1	0.03
Tunisia, Yemen	1	0.03
Total	**3494**	**100**

APPENDIX III:

FULL LIST OF RESPONDENTS' RESPONSES TO THE "WHICH DIALECT DO YOU BELIEVE TO BE THE CLOSEST TO MSA?" QUESTION

Dialect (Area) Labeled as Closest to MSA	Respondent's Nationality	Total
Algeria	Palestinian X 3	7
Algeria	Israeli X 1	
Algeria	Sudanese X 1	
Algeria	Algerian X 1	
Algeria	Egyptian X 1	
Algeria, Morrocco	Egyptian X 2	2
Algeria, Tunisia	Palestinian X 1	1
Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq	Palestinian X 1	1
All	Egyptian X 3	4
All	Saudi X 1	
All Except North Africa	Sudanese X 1	1
Bahrian, KSA, Kuwait , Qatar, UAE	Egyptian X 1	1
Bahrian, KSA, Oman , Qatar, UAE	Egyptian X 1	1
Bedouin	Saudi X 1	5
Bedouin	Egyptian X 1	
Bedouin	Omani X 1	
Bedouin	Yemeni X 1	
Bedouin	Moroccan X 1	
Bedouin of Jordan, KSA	Jordaian X 1	1
Don't Know	Moroccan X 1	9
Don't Know	Egyptian X 4	
Don't Know	Lebanese X 1	
Don't Know	Palestinian X 2	
Don't Know	Saudi X 1	
Bedouin, and Druze dialect in Lebanon and Syria.	Lebanese X 1	1
Egypt	Egyptian X 38	50
Egypt	Tunisian X 2	
Egypt	Moroccan X 5	
Egypt	Palestinian X 5	
Egypt, Gulf	Palestinian X 1	2
Egypt, Gulf	Egyptian X 1	
Egypt, Jordan	Egyptian X 1	1
Egypt, KSA	Egyptian X 3	3
Egypt, Levant	Egyptian X 3	3
Egypt, Morocco	Moroccan X 1	1
Egypt, Palestine	Egyptian X 1	1
Egypt, Syria	Moroccan X 1	3
Egypt, Syria	Egyptian X 2	

Egypt, UAE	Egyptian X 1	1
Everyone Claims They're Closest	Egyptian X 1	1
Gulf	Egyptian X 36	45
Gulf	Syrian X 1	
Gulf	Qatari X 1	
Gulf	Moroccan X 1	
Gulf	Jordanian X 1	
Gulf	Saudi X 2	
Gulf	Palestinian X 2	
Gulf	Omani X 1	
Gulf, , Iraq, Jordan	Bahraini X 1	1
Gulf, Levant	Egyptian X 2	1
Iraq	Israeli X 7	32
Iraq	Egyptian X 14	
Iraq	Tunisian X 1	
Iraq	Saudi X 1	
Iraq	Jordanian X 3	
Iraq	Palestinian X 4	
Iraq	Emirati X 1	
Iraq	Syrian X 1	
Iraq (Vocabulary), Yamen (Lexicon)	Arab X 1	1
Iraq, Jordan, KSA, Palestine	Omani X 1	1
Iraq, Jordan, Palestine	Jordaian X 1	1
Iraq, KSA	Jordaian X 1	2
Iraq, KSA	Egyptian X 1	
Iraq, Lebanon, Syria	Saudi X 1	1
Iraq, Levant	Lebanese X 1	1
Iraq, Syria	Egyptian X 1	1
Iraq, Yamen	Bahraini X 1	1
Jordan	Jordaian X 10	25
Jordan	Egyptian X 9	
Jordan	Moroccan X 1	
Jordan	Iraqi X 2	
Jordan	Libyan X 1	
Jordan	Omani X 1	
Jordan	Arab X 1	
Jordan, KSA, Lebya	Egyptian X 1	1
Jordan, KSA, Oman	Omani X 1	1
Jordan, Lebya	Libyan X 1	1

Jordan, Oman	Omani X 1	1
Jordan, Palestine	Jordaian X 3	3
Jordan, Palestine, syria	Egyptian X 1	1
Jordan, Syria	Egyptian X 1	1
Jordan, Yamen	Jordanian X 1	1
KSA	Egyptian X 125	175
KSA	Saudi X 8	
KSA	Syrian X 1	
KSA	Moroccan X 4	
KSA	Omani X 10	
KSA	Kuwaiti X 2	
KSA	Palestinian X 9	
KSA	Jordanian X 7	
KSA	UAE X 3	
KSA	Arab X 3	
KSA	Tunisian X 1	
KSA	Algerian X 1	
KSA	Lebanese X 1	
KSA, Kuwait	Egyptian X 1	1
KSA, Laventine	Algerian X 1	1
KSA, Levant	Egyptian X 1	1
KSA, Oman	Omani X 1	1
KSA, UAE	Egyptian X 1	1
KSA, Yamen	Saudi X 2	6
KSA, Yamen	Egyptian X 4	
Lebanon	Egyptian X 1	2
Lebanon	Arab X 1	
Lebanon, Syria	Algerian X 1	1
Levant	Egyptian X 17	29
Levant	Jordanian X 4	
Levant	Syrian X 1	
Levant	Algerian X 1	
Levant	Moroccan X 1	
Levant	Palestinian X 2	
Levant	Israeli X 3	
Levant, Bedouin	Bahraini X 1	1
Levant, Tunisia	Tunisian X 1	1
Libya	Saudi X 1	4
Libya	Libyan X 1	

Libya	Tunisian X 1	
Libya	Omani X 1	
Mauritania	Egyptian X 3	8
Mauritania	Moroccan X 1	
Mauritania	Yemeni X 2	
Mauritania	Arab X 2	
Morocco	Egyptian X 5	12
Morocco	Israeli X 2	
Morocco	Moroccan X 3	
Morocco	Jordanian X 2	
Morrocco, Tunisia	Israeli X 1	1
Muritania, Sudan	Egyptian X 1	1
Muritania, Tunisia	Algerian X 1	1
Muritania, Yamen	Algerian X 1	1
None	Egyptian X 25	42
None	Saudi X 4	
None	Palestinian X 5	
None	Iraqi X 1	
None	Omani X 4	
None	Syrian X 1	
None	Yemeni X 1	
None	Arab X 1	
North Africa	Jordanian X 2	4
North Africa	Egyptian X 1	
North Africa	Yemeni X 1	
Oman	Omani X 12	13
Oman	Egyptian X 1	
Oman, Yemen	Algerian X 1	4
Oman, Yemen	Omani X 2	
Oman, Yemen	Egyptian X 1	
Palestine	Egyptian X 15	34
Palestine	Palestinian X 9	
Palestine	Arab X 2	
Palestine	Israeli X 5	
Palestine	Jordanian X 2	
Palestine	Tunisian X 1	
Palestine, Syria	Egyptian X 1	1
South Egypt	Egyptian X 1	1
South Egypt, Jordan	Egyptian X 1	1

South KSA, Yamen	Saudi X 1	1
Sudan	Egyptian X 4	7
Sudan	Israeli X 1	
Sudan	Kuwaiti X 1	
Sudan	Sudanese X 1	
Syria	Egyptian X 31	50
Syria	Palestinian X 3	
Syria	Kuwaiti X 1	
Syria	Syrian X 5	
Syria	Omani X 1	
Syria	Iraqi X 1	
Syria	Algerian X 3	
Syria	Tunisian X 2	
Syria	Bahraini X 1	
Syria	Moroccan X 2	
Syria, UAE	Egyptian X 1	1
Syria, Yemen	Egyptian X 2	2
Tunisia	Egyptian X 5	16
Tunisia	Tunisian X 7	
Tunisia	Israeli X 2	
Tunisia	Palestinian X 1	
Tunisia	Arab X 1	
UAE	Egyptian X 12	13
UAE	Jordanian X 1	
west KSA, Sudan	Saudi X 1	1
Yamen	Egyptian X 22	49
Yemen	Yemeni X 5	
Yemen	Jordanian X 6	
Yemen	Saudi X 9	
Yemen	Palestinian X 2	
Yemen	Algerian X 1	
Yemen	Sudanese X 1	
Yemen	Bahraini X 1	
Yemen	Tunisian X 1	
Yemen	Emirati X 1	
Total		**711**

APPENDIX IV:

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE FIVE AUDIO CLIPS IN ARABIC, AND TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH

Audio clip #1:

A: Alo
B: hello
A: hello Ahmed?
B: hello
A: how are you?
B: good. What's up?
A: Have you arrived?
B: yeah, two days ago.
A: great. How's everything going?
B: perfect, everything is going well.
A: Excellent, I have heard that there was much new work, mmm, in the city. I mean, mmm, ah, they are building new things in and different ways and a highway.
B: emm, yeah, you can't imagine how beautiful those streets are and the new autostrada which is near from Al-mazza street differently as you said; you feel that the streets are new and wide, it's amazing, even cars are new ones.
A: oh, my goodness, how interesting! I really want to see those things. It has been too long since I was there, so is there still a train? Or ..
B: no the...
A: or it is stopped running?
B: no, they stopped it a long time ago.
A: ahhh.
B: emm.
A: ok, and how's the, emm, as they repair the streets, is it organized or no one knows where to come and where to go?
B: actually, this problem is still there, repairing streets takes time and it delays the traffic and everything, also when they do some repairs...
A: emmm.
B: they repair damages at night and morning during working hours and people are still at work, they couldn't make it in the right time.
A: aha, yeah, right.
B: make it right.

ملف الصوت رقم ١:

أ: ألو.
ب: ألو.
أ: أهلين أحمد.
ب يا أهلاً وسهلاً.
أ: كيفك؟
ب: تمام كيفك انتى؟
أ: شو انت وصلت؟؟
ب: طبعاَ وصلت من يومين.
أ: اي تمام دخلك طمنى اشلون ال اييه الجو عندك.
ب:الجو تمام وكل شي تمام والحالة كتيير حلوة.
أ: تمام تمام بس سمعت انه فيه كتير شغلات جديدة امم بالمدينة يعنى امم اه عم يبنوا شي جديد. صحيح؟ كل هالصورة وكل هالطرق الجديدة هاي واي.
ب: امم ايه لا تتصوري ، مابتتصورى اد ايش ها ال الشوارع حلوة وال الاييه الاوتوستراد الجديد اللى قريب من طريق المزة وعم قيلك غيرالصورة متل ما قيلتى اللى بتحسى الشوارع جديدة وواسعة وشي بيطير العقل ، حتى السيارات صارت سيارات جديدة .
أ: وحياة الله .. يا الله شو جاى على بالى اشوف هاى الشغلات. صارلى زمان تقريباً ما روحت لهنيك. لسه دخلك فيه ترين ولا...
ب: لا لا لا.
أ: ولا بطلوه؟
ب: لا لا الترين وقفوه من زمان .
أ: اااه.
ب :امم.
أ: طب واشلون لسه ال امم متل ما انه اذا بدهم يصلحوا الشوارع بتلاقيها ما فى لا تنظيم والواحد ما بيعرف حاله من وين فايت ومن وين طالع ولا صارت منظمة؟
ب: والله هاي الشغلة لساتها طبعاَ يعني امم قصة تصليح الشوارع بتاخد وقت وبتعطل السير وبتعطل الدنيا...
أ: امممم
ب: ولما بيصالحوا بالعطل ولا بالليل بيصلحوا بالنهار وقت الدوام والموظفيين وهاى الشغلة مابيقدروا يظبطوها
أ: أهمم صحيح صحيح ، ما عم تظبط. طب واشلون

A: they couldn't afford it, ok , and is there still traffic jam when you head to Mafja and a lot of cars?
B: yeah, sure, traffic jam is continuous as cars are, and they make openings for cars so it becomes more crowded, they also cannot find an inch for people to park their cars.
A: yeah, ok. How about those who were selling on the donkeys and carts, ahh, like cucumbers and tomatoes, calling in the morning, still there or...
B: sure, they are still in alleys.
A: uhm, not in the main streets.
B: no, no, no. with donkeys and carts and...
A: uhm, with carts, yeah, that's right.

لسه فيه زحمة لما تروح على المفجة وعلى ال ، فيه زحمة سيارات؟؟
ب: طبعاً الزحمة ما فايدة ، عم بتزييد والسيارات عم بتزيد ، وفتحوا السيارات والزحمة عم تزيد ، وما عم يلاقوا محل لل للناس توقف سياراتها.
أ: ايه طب شو بالنسبة لها دول اللى كانوا يبيعوا على الحمير ، االاه مثلا خيار وبنادورة وبينادوا الصبح لساتم عم بيـ...
ب: لسه ، لساتن طبعاً بالحارات هى ..
أ: همم ، مو بالشوارع الرئيسية؟
ب: لا لا لا ، على الحار ، على الحمير وع العربايات وعلى الـ...
أ: أممم ، أممم ع العربايات ايه صحيح تمام.

Audio clip #2:
A: hey, how are you?
B: Khaled. Welcome back, when did you arrive?
A: just now. I have a vacation for a week, where are my mom and dad?
B: my dad hasn't come back from work yet, and my mom went to my uncle Abd-Allah's house and she said that my dad is going to go there after he finishes work.
A: great. Let me go and say hi to my grandpa then go out with my friends. See you at dinner.
……...……
A: tell me, how is your uncle Mohamed's family doing?
B: thank God they are all good. Your cousin Mohamed joined police academy, Salem has got a baby, and their little sister is still at school.
A: Gaber, Salem's wife little brother, where is he?
B: poor man, he has no luck, he hasn't graduated yet, and every day he gets a job and gets fired.
A: I want to go visit my uncle Abu-Meshael's family.
B: Did you know that all your cousins traveled abroad?
A: No, I didn't know. When did that happen?

ملف الصوت رقم ٢ :
أ. جوه سند. ايش لونش؟
ب. خالد حمد الله على السلامة متى بيت؟
أ. توني ، عندى أجازة أسبوع وين أمى وأبوى؟
ب. أبوى بعده ما ييى من الشغل ، وامى راحت بيت خالى عبدالله وجالت أبوى بيمر عليها ورا الدوام.
أ. زين خلينى أروح أسلم على يدي وبعدين راح أطلع ويا ربعى أشوفكم ع العشا.
.....

أ. جولى يابه بيت عمتش محمد اشلونهم ؟
ب. الحمد لله زينين. ولد عمك محمد دخل كلية الشرطة ، وسالم صار عنده ولد ، وأختهم الصغيرة بعدها المدرسة.
أ. جابر أخو زوجة سالم الصغير ، وين صار؟
ب. هذا المسكين ما عنده حظ. بعده ما تخرج وكل يوم يبي يبطل ويرجع للشغل.
أ. باتشر أبي أزور دار عمي أبو مشعل.
ب. أنت تدرى ولد عمك كلهم سافروا برة؟
أ. لا ما أدرى متى ها الحتشى؟
ب. مشعال وسعد عايشين بالأمارات وحامد

B: Meshaal and Said live in the UAE. Hamed has been working for a company in KSA since you came and now working for the company and not leaving it.

يشتقل بشركة بالسعودية ، من ساعة ما جيت وهسه تشتغل بالشركة ماتريلها.

Audio clip #3:

A: Hey, How are you? How's everything going? What happened yesterday?

B: Thanks God. I'm fine, thanks God, mmm aah, nothing much, yesterday when I left the, aah, when I finished hosting the TV show...

A: emm

B: ahh, when I was heading home, ahh, there was a group of people who were, ahh, in front of the city. They put barriers and stopped every single car to see who's inside, they had a look inside the car and asked who she is? Then they said no one was allowed to go out, get her out of the car, bring her we want her. They tried to open the doors and get me out but they failed because we locked it from inside. Then one of them brought something like pottery, from the garden in front of the city's door, and hit the rear glass of the car to break it and it was broken and...

A: emm

B: and I told my driver to turn back and go back quickly...

A: emm

B: so he turned and entered, and there were barriers in our way, there was another car that hit mine but we made it and passed the barriers and we could...

A: emm

B: we were able to make it safe again, thanks God.

A: but they tried to get you out of the car, right?

B: That's all what I remember, yes, that they were trying to open the car door.

A: emm, (sarcastically) how respectable for women they are! Regardless that you are a media person, and they don't have any problem to abuse women not only men! So what are your expectations for the

ملف الصوت رقم ٣:

أ: طمنينا الأول عليكى أخبارك إيه ؟ وإيه اللى حصل بالأمس؟

ب: الحمد لله. أنا كويسة. الحمدلله ام اااااه ولا حاجة ، وانا مروحة امبارح من ال ، من برنامجي ، ااه بعد ما خلصت تقديم البرنامج.

أ: اممم.

ب: اااه وانا مروحة اااه كان فيه مجموعة من الناس اللى هما اه موجودين امام المدينة ، وقفوا ، بيوقفوا عربية عربية حاطين حواجز. بيوقفوا العربيات بيشوفوا مين اللى جواها. فاااااا فـ فبصوا جوة العربية ، سألوا مين دى؟ ف فقالوا مفيش طلوع من هنا. انزل ام نزلوها نزلوها هاتوها ، احنا عايزينها ، اممم حاولوا يفتحوا الابواب علشان انزل ماعرفوش يفتحوا لان احنا متربسين ، مقفلين من جوة ، فاااااا وبعدين واحد فيهم جاب ذى حاجة فخار من الجنينة اللى امام بوابة المدينة على طول وضرب بيها الازاز الخلفى بتاع العربية علشان يكسره ، وفعلا الازاز نزل اتكسر و

أ: اممم

ب: و ، وبس المهم انا على طول قلت للسواق قولتله لف وأرجع بسرعة.

أ: اممم

ب: فاااا فعلاً ، لف ودخل كان فى بقى حواجز فى طريقنا كان فى عربية تانية ، العربية اتخبطت و ال ال اه عدينا الحواجز وبقدرة قادر قدرنا اننا...

أ : اممم

ب: ندخل تانى الحمد لله.

أ: لكن هما حاولوا يخرجوكى من العربية مش كدة ؟

ب: دة اللى انا متذكراه ان هما كانوا بيحاولوا يفتحوا الباب اه

أ: ام امم يعنى منتهى الاحترام ل المرأة بغض النظر كمان عن أن حضرتك يعنى اعلامية ، وهما معندهمش مشكلة خالص يعنى بردوا انهم يتعدوا على النساء وليس فقط ال ، اه ، الرجال ، ي يعنى

coming situation in media?
B: ahhh, my expectations are not good, but what will happen? Actually I don't know, I don't know!! You cannot predict, Mrs. Rania, in this country what would happen. Every day you got surprised, every day you see things you have never thought you will see. So, for expectations, I have none but let me say that I am not optimistic at all, aaaah, emm, with the freedom of media and those words that we hoped for and...
A: emm, Thank you so much ma'am and thank God for your safety!

توقعاتك للمشهد القادم فى الاعلام؟
ب: ايه ، بصى توقعاتى غير متفائلة. لكن ايه ايه اللى هيحصل لسه مش عارفة مش عارفة بقت بقت بلد يا استاذة رانيا مينفعش تتنبئى فيها بايه اللى هيحصل. انتى كل يوم بتتفاجئى ، وكل يوم بتشوفى الحاجات ولا عمرك تتخيلى ان انتى هتشوفيها فتوقعات ، معنديش توقعات ، لكن لكن همم مش شايفة إنى متفائلة طبعاً أووى بال الل إيه ببب ، بحرية الإعلام وبالكلام اللى إحنا كنا بنطمح اليه و...
أ: اممم ، أنا بشكرك شكراً جزيلاً أستاذة ، واا سلامتك الف سلامة.

Audio clip #4:
A: Hello.
B: good afternoon.
A: good afternoon.
B: how are you, Ali?
A: hi
B: how are you my dear?
A: hello Magida, how are you doing?
B: thanks God, dear, what's wrong with you? Where are you ??
A: really?! Why do you say so? We are always available
B: ok, Friday…
A: how are you?
B: last Friday, we wanted to visit you.
A: ahhh.
B: we kept calling, the phone kept ringing and ringing but no one answered.
A: when did you call on Friday?
B: ahhh, about noon, it was noon.
A: who wanted to come visit?
B: emm, me, sure my husband and we thought...
A: ahhh
B: and bring our children to see yours and have fun together.
A: yeah.
B: we missed you so much; it has been too long

ملف الصوت رقم ٤:
أ. هالووو.
ب. هالو مساء الخير.
أ. مساء النور
ب. شلونك علي.
أ. أهلاً وسهلاً.
ب. شلونكم عينى؟
أ. اهلاً ماجدة شلون صحتكش؟
ب. الحمد لله عينى ، شو دا خابركم ماكو ما موجودين؟
أ. والله ، ليش إحنا تحت الطلب ايش وقت ما تريدين.
ب. صحيح الجمعة.
أ. شو وقت خابرتوا؟
ب. الجمعة ال فاتت ردنا نزوركم شويه.
أ. ايه.
ب. ضلينا نخابر نخابر التليفون يدج وما حد يجاوب.
أ. ايش وقت اتخابرتى الجمعة.
ب. اااااه ، تقريباً الظهر وقت الظهر شانت.
أ. اااااااه ومنو ، منو تشان يجيى من عندكم؟
ب. اااام انى و ابو الجهال طبعاً وجلنا.
أ. اااه
ب. الجهالة نجيبهم شوية ، يفرحون يشوفون الجهالة عندكم.
أ. اى والله.

since we met.
A: Thank you may Allah bless you and keep you safe, actually we, ahhhh, ahh, last week, you know, who visited us, ahh
B: yes.
A: my cousin visited us.
B: yeah.
A: ahha, he was abroad, he lives in Canada.
B: great.
A: he unexpectedly came to visit, we didn't know, guess what, someone was knocking at the door, guess what, seriously he is, he is in front of me in front of the door, yeaaah, how did you manage to reach us here?
B: Didn't you know?!
A: not at all.
B: he came, hahaha, surprisingly and haa.
A: was at the door, in front of me, how come! How did you reach us? How did you come? How did you know the house? And you know, he is has left the town more than thirty or forty years ago.
B: yeah, right.
A: you know, streets have changed, everything too.
B: emmm
A: houses have changed.
B: that was so nice of him to come see you, hahaha.
A: people have changed, and I myself couldn't believe it, didn't expect it, didn't know from where he came, who is this person, we haven't seen him before.
B: aha.
A: then, oh my goodness, it was too long, it was good that I recognize his voice.
B: mmm, emmm.
A: yeah, he surprisingly came with his wife and...
B: great!
A: and he has two girls.
B: mmm.
A: you know how it was here, we stayed together for a while at home and they stayed at us.

ب. مشتاقينلكم ، من زمان ما شايفينكم.
أ. الله يسلمكش ، الله يسلمكش ، ويخليكش ، والله احنا الل اللللل ال الايس الاسبوع اللى فات تعرفين اااااااه زارناااااا اااه.
ب. اها.
أ. زارنا ابن عمي.
ب. اها.
أ. ابيه ، هذا تشان مسافر عايش بكندا.
ب. زين.
أ. وجانا زيارة فجأة ، إحنا ما نعرف ، ال شو يندج الباب ال شو طالع هو جد ويطلع جدامى جدام الباب يااااا اخى كل شئ ايش وصلك لهنا.
ب. يعنى ما شنتوا تعرفون؟
أ. أبداً. أبداً.
ب. راح يجيى هههه مفاجأة وصارت ها.
أ. هيك الباب وطلع جدامى على ايش لون هذا ايش وصلك ايش جابك لهنا اشلون ادليت للبيت وتعرفين هذا صارله يمكن فوق الثلاثين اربعين سنة طالع من هونا.
ب. ايه ، صحيح ، صحيح.
أ. وتعرفين الشوارع اتغيرت والدنيا اتغيرت.
ب. احممم
أ. البيوت اتغيرت.
ب. وزين منه اللى جه البيت شافك هههههه.
أ. الناس اتغيروا وانى اول شئ اصلا ماوقعت على ، تؤ ماعرفت تاكل من وين هذا جانى شو على شو مين ماشايفينه احنا جبل.
ب. أها.
أ. وبعدين لا والله شو اتقرب وتعرفون من زمان شئ منيح انى تذكرت صوته.
ب. هممم مممم.
أ. اى والله فاجانى جاى هو ، وجايب وياه زوجته و.
ب. زين.
أ. وعنده بناته اثنين.
ب. هممم مممم.
أ.تعرفين الجو هنا يمنا ، وجعدنا وياهم شوى بالبيت طبعاً ، ونزلوا عندهم.
ب. جدايش راح يضلون؟

B: how long will they stay?
A: actually, they will stay until next Friday then they will travel.

أ. والله هما باقيين الى ال اااااه يوم الجمعة الجاية يسافرون يرجعون

Audio clip #5:

Now I will talk a bit about camels. I will talk about what I know because I am not that much knowledgeable about them but I am going to tell what I know. Camels are two types "Al-gredy", ahhh, the local one in the country and the other one which came from outside the borders. How are camels like? They are called one kind, but, ahh, emm, ahhhhhh, they called it "Dormodaa"; now this kind, the male one, they call it camel. This camel has, ehhhhhh, his food the male is camel and female is called it Naaga. Their food, they eat grass, aaaaand they are eating from their stomachs, we say, means that they eat and they ruminates twice. Ahhhh, eeeeh, this camel, eeeeh, winter is their reproduction season, when it wants sex it becomes a bit, aaaa, in his behavior as if it is drunk. It doesn't know even its owner and if you, ahhhh, eeeeh hit it, it never forgets even after ten years. And when it finds the right time it never concerns, and never talks even if you're dying for it. So that's why one hits them only when they are like drunk.

ملف الصوت رقم ٥:

تو باش نحكو شوية على الجمال. بدى نحكيلكم كيف ما نعرف انا خاطر. انا مانيش عالم بتاع جمال ، ولكن ، اييييييه ، بنحكى باللى نعرف بيه ، باللى نعرفه يعنى. الجمال نوعين ، نوع اللى ، الجريدى ، واللللل اااه ، والاصلى بتاع البلاد ، والنوع اللى جاى ، من من من برة من الحدود. كيف الجمال؟ والله يسموا نوع واحد هما ولكن ، ال اللل اييييييييه ، هو من النوع اللى يجوله دروماداء. النوع هذا ، الآن ، ال اااه ، الدكر بتاعه يسموه جمل. الجمل هذا عنده ، اييييييييه ، الماكل بتاعه. الجمل الدكر والأنثى يسموها ناجة. اللل اييييه الماكل بتاعهم ، ياكلوا العشبيات. ياكلو االعشب ، واااااه هو زال الى تلح فى جرتها وكانت تكسح فى جرتها احنا نجول ، معناها ياكل ويعاود مرتين ، اللل اااه ، الجمل هذا ، اييييه ، وجت ال اييييييه الهيج بتاعه يهيج فى الشتاء. وقت اللى يهيج يسبق يسعى ، ب بااااا ، شوية ، فيييييي الطبع بتاعه. طباعه ، اااه ، كأنه سكران. ماعادش يعرف حد حتى مولاه. ووجت اللليييييييي تضربه يوم ماينسهاش حتى بعد عشر سنين. ويوم اللي يلجى الوقت المناسب باش ي ير ، باش يعبر ولا الواحد يتنجمه يموت حتى تحكى. ولذا يضرب الواحد كان وجت اللى هو عنده برود.

VITA

Mahmoud Abdel-Rahman has taught both English and Arabic as foreign languages. After graduating with a Bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature from Fayoum University in 2010, he worked as an instructor of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) for a local languages center. In 2011, he was awarded the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA) grant to teach Arabic as a Foreign Language at Florida State University. Upon successfully finishing the FLTA program, he went back to Egypt to work as an EFL instructor with Berlitz Egypt. In 2013, he joined World Learning Organization as a soft skills trainer and a career counselor to train university students at the Fayoum University Career Development Center (FUCDC) and provide them with professional career counselling to facilitate their transition from school into the job market. In August 2013, he joined College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, MA as a foreign language assistant of Arabic for a year. After that, he enrolled in the University of Mississippi in August 2014 to work on his Master's degree in Linguistics while being the teaching assistant of Arabic for two years. In addition, he is currently working on his second Master's degree in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language (TAFL) at Middlebury College. Mr. Abdel-Rahman is a member of the Rocky Mountains Modern Language Association (RMMLA), the Mississippi Foreign Languages Association (MFLA), the American Association of Teachers of Arabic (AATA), the Phi Sigma Iota International Foreign Language Honor Society, and Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society. Mr. Abdel-Rahman is looking forward to pursue a Ph.D. degree at a reputable American university.